

MICHIGAN history



DECEMBER 1960

MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION

MICHIGAN HISTORY

LEWIS BEESON, Editor
HELEN EVERETT, Associate Editor

Volume 44

December, 1960

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Michigan History on microfilm is available to subscribers through University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Michigan History is published quarterly in March, June, September, and December by the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan. Correspondence concerning contributors and books for review may be sent to the editor. The commission assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors. Entered as second-class matter February 23, 1923, at the postoffice at Lansing, Michigan, under act of August 24, 1912.

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MICHIGAN HISTORY

VOLUME XLIV

1960



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Michigan Farmers and the Civil War

Richard H. Sewell

THE ERA OF THE CIVIL WAR WAS ONE of significant change in nearly all branches of American life, not the least important of which was agriculture. On the farm as in the city, the demands of this bitter internecine struggle upset established patterns, stimulated new experiments, and greatly accelerated technological progress. To the northern farmer fell the enormous task of feeding and supplying large armies and an ever-increasing civilian population. Michigan, as well as her sister states, met this challenge with conspicuous success, and in so doing ushered in a new period of farming development. The effects of the war on Michigan agriculture were many and varied, some of permanent, others of transient importance. Although the four lower tiers of counties underwent the most pronounced changes, only the Upper Peninsula failed to alter significantly its agricultural techniques, concepts, and attitudes as a result of wartime pressures.

That portion of the state south of the Flint-Grand Rapids line, blessed with rich soil and a temperate climate, had long been under cultivation; and by the onset of hostilities in 1861 Michigan ranked among the agricultural leaders of the West. The 1850's had been years of steady advance; at the end of the decade the state was the nation's fourth largest grower of wool, and ninth leading wheat producer. Between 1850 and 1860 the area of improved land in Michigan farms climbed from 1,929,110 to 3,476,296 acres, and their cash value tripled. Although outshone by such agricultural giants as Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Ohio, Michigan was growing in importance, and promised to play a leading role in wartime developments.¹

The conflict made itself felt directly and immediately by drawing thousands of young Michigan farmers into the Union forces. Within six months of the Confederate shots on Fort Sumter some 24,797

¹*Agriculture of the United States in 1860, Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*, clxix, 76 (Washington, D. C., 1864); hereafter cited as *Agriculture, Eighth Census, 1860*.

Michigan men, many of them farmers, had marched off to war, and before the last battle flag was furled nearly 66,000 others had joined them.² That Michigan was able to meet this manpower shortage without any diminution in farm production was due in the main to three factors: the increased use of laborsaving agricultural implements, the work of women and youths in the fields, and the immigration of new groups.

During the decade of the 1860's several elements converged to promote the use of farm machinery. First, the utility of such implements had become an established fact; signal progress had been made and farmers were impressed. Also, land-clearing and farm-making had at last reached the point where machines could be used to advantage; no machinery could be utilized until trees had been cut down and the stumps removed. Finally, the demands of the war upon agricultural manpower rendered the need for laborsaving implements acute. Under such pressures even the most conservative agriculturists admitted the efficacy of mechanical farming.

Michigan farmers saw clearly the blessing of the machines in years of war. Frank Little, secretary of the Kalamazoo County Agricultural Society, wrote in 1864:

What a providence, surely, to the American farmer during the present scarcity of labor — the war taking off such a large proportion of the best bone and muscle of the country — that one man, through the aid of improved implements for planting, cultivating, harvesting and threshing, can do the work of ten, at least under the old-fashioned mode.³

The most important developments in agricultural machinery in this era were those connected with the harvesting of grain. It was during the war years that horse-drawn reapers and mowers gained widespread acceptance on Michigan farms. Although Obed Hussey took out a patent for his reaper as early as 1833, followed by Cyrus McCormick the next year, the use of reaping machines had been confined until the Civil War to the largest farms. Elsewhere wheat and other cereal crops were still cut in the harvesting bee, requiring the

²Battle Creek Journal, October 25, 1861; John Robertson, compiler, *Michigan in the War*, 68 (Lansing, 1882).

³Frank Little, "Kalamazoo County," in *Third Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan for the Year 1864*, 34 (Lansing, 1865). Hereafter cited as *Michigan Agriculture Annual Report*, 1864. Mr. Little rather exaggerates the amount of labor actually saved by farm implements.

work of many men. The outbreak of hostilities radically altered this picture. The demand for reapers and mowers which could do the job of six or eight men was intense. More harvesting machines were produced in the few years of the war than had been turned out during the whole ante bellum period.⁴

Michigan agriculturists rushed to buy mowers and reapers in such numbers that demand sometimes outran supply. In 1863 a Pontiac farmer wrote that "Over two hundred and fifty mowing machines have been sold in this town this season, and the demand was not fully met. Men are of no account now, except to vote—steam and horses do the work!"⁵ An almost endless variety of harvesting machines confronted prospective buyers: Manny's, Wood's, Ketchum's, McCormick's, Howard's, Seymour and Morgan's, Allen's, the Buckeye, the Cayuga Chief, the Eureka, the Quaker, the Ball, and others. Most harvesting implements were combined reapers and mowers; and those with self-raking mechanisms, such as Wood's, Allen's, and Seymour and Morgan's, were the favorites.

Other types of laborsaving farm machinery also spread throughout the rural portions of the state. Improved harrows, wheat drills, gang plows, iron-beam plows, corn shellers, horse rakes, horse pitchforks, cultivators, threshing machines, broadcast sowing machines, and stump lifters all helped alleviate the lack of male labor. Of the plethora of agricultural implements popular during the Civil War decade, only hay tedders, used for spreading and turning hay, and corn planters received little attention from Michigan farmers. The impetus which the war gave to the use of laborsaving farm devices is clearly shown by the increase in the value of such implements between 1860 and 1870. Over that decade, the value of agricultural machinery used by Michigan farmers rose from \$5,819,832 to \$13,711,979. By 1880 farm implements in the state were worth \$19,419,360. This rise is mirrored in the manufacture of farm equipment

⁴Leo Rogin, "The Introduction of Farm Machinery in Its Relation to the Productivity of Labor in the Agriculture of the United States During the Nineteenth Century," in *University of California Publication in Economics*, 9:93 (Berkeley, California, 1931). See also Emerson D. Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War*, 6 (New York, 1910); hereafter cited as *The North During the Civil War*; Louis B. Schmidt, "The Westward Movement of the Wheat Growing Industry in the United States," in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 18:396-412 (July, 1920).

⁵*The Country Gentleman*, 22:100 (August 6, 1863).

within Michigan. In 1850 there were only thirteen establishments which manufactured \$30,600 worth of implements. By 1860, 108 firms assembled products valued at \$684,913; and in 1870, some 164 concerns boasted a total output worth \$1,569,596.⁶

An interesting decline in the number of working oxen further reflects Michigan's adoption of farm mechanization during the Civil War epoch. Farmers found oxen to be too slow for the hauling of expensive agricultural machines, and despite the scarcity and high price of horses they steadily discarded the ox. Between 1860 and 1870 the number of working oxen in the state dropped nearly 40 per cent—from 61,686 to 36,499. Sharpest reductions occurred in the counties having the highest value of farm implements. In the prosperous southern Michigan counties of Washtenaw, Oakland, Calhoun, and Lenawee the value of agricultural machinery doubled during the war decade, while the oxen in those counties decreased in number nearly tenfold.

Although the rapid spread of improved farm tools helped greatly to fill the manpower gap created by enlistments and the draft, extraordinary demands were made upon the civilian population in order to save the harvests. Women, children, and old men answered the call with long, arduous hours spent in the fields. Fortunately the widespread introduction of household appliances—sewing, washing, and wringing machines—in this period, allowed many a farmer's helpmate time to assist with the cultivation of crops during his absence. In August, 1864, the *Detroit Free Press* observed that "It is no uncommon thing to see women in the fields at work. A large portion of the corn in this state has been cultivated by women," and a popular refrain urged: "Just take your gun and go; for Ruth can drive the oxen, John, and I can use the hoe!"⁷ Women worked chiefly at the lighter farm tasks, picking fruit and hops, milking cows

⁶Agriculture, *Eighth Census*, 1860, x; "The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry of the United States . . . from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census, 1870, 3:81, 588-89 (Washington, D. C., 1872). Hereafter cited as *Wealth and Industry, Ninth Census*, 1870. "The Statistics of Agriculture" in *Report on the Productions of Agriculture, Tenth Census*, 1880, 3:120 (Washington, D. C., 1883); hereafter cited as *Agriculture, Tenth Census*, 1880.

⁷*Detroit Free Press*, August, 1864, quoted in *The Country Gentleman*, 24:97 (August 11, 1864); Fite, *The North During the Civil War*, 8.

and feeding livestock; but their efforts were nonetheless valuable, because they freed available male labor for heavier chores. Youths and retired farmers also responded to the need for farm hands. In the last year of the war, a Jackson County agriculturist informed the *Country Gentleman*:

Recruiting soldiers is the order of the day in Michigan; we hope soon to have a return of our laborers . . . to their former occupations; but the old men and small boys with our easy soil to till and improved labor-saving machinery, are doing very well.⁸

The suggestion that the labor shortage might be eased by providing young boys with implements adapted to their strength, and thereby exploiting their work to the fullest extent, met with some interest but little action.

Immigration into Michigan was considerable during the 1860's and helped much to offset the loss of young farmers to the Union armies. The population rose nearly 60 per cent during the decade—from 749,113 to 1,184,282. The amount of this increase due to immigration is difficult to give with accuracy, but may be conservatively estimated at about 90,000, a figure nearly equal to Michigan's total contribution to the armed forces of the United States.⁹ Many of the new settlers came from the eastern states in search of richer farms. The commercial panic of 1861 and subsequent labor unrest contributed to this movement. During the 1850's more New York state emigrants went to Michigan than to any other state, and apparently this trend continued throughout the war decade. In 1864 a missionary in Grand Traverse County noted that

Settlers that have come here are from nearly all the Northern States—a few are of foreign birth. New York has probably a larger representation than any other State.¹⁰

Some newcomers also arrived from the turbulent Border States, though fewer settled in Michigan than in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Governor Henry H. Crapo was alert to the benefits of immigration

⁸*The Country Gentleman*, 21:356 (May 28, 1863) and 25:196 (March 23, 1865).

⁹In the ten years preceding the Civil War, Michigan's population expanded by 351,459, of whom some 90,000 were immigrants. During the 1860's the growth was 435,169. *Population of the United States in 1860, Eighth Census*, 1:xxxiii (Washington, D. C., 1864).

¹⁰"Settlers that have come here . . ." in *The Home Missionary*, 27:200 (December, 1864).

and repeatedly urged that it "be encouraged and fostered by needful legislation."¹¹

The availability of cheap farm land provided a powerful inducement to settlement in Michigan. Land was plentiful and could be purchased at reasonable rates from private owners, plank and railroad companies, the State Land Office, and the United States General Land Office. During the years 1861-1865 the State Land Office sold more than 530,000 acres to groups and individuals. But the greatest source of new farm lands was the Homestead Act of 1862 which offered 160 acre tracts free to actual settlers after a residence of five years. By 1866, 3,844 entries had been made in Michigan under the act, comprising nearly half a million acres. Of these, 1,453 received final patents totaling some 182,000 acres. By 1880 almost 1,200,000 acres had passed into private hands under its terms. Wrote the commissioner of the State Land Office in 1864,

It is believed that a liberal policy in granting and selling lands to actual settlers, and appropriations for the opening of important lines of intercommunication, have been of much good, in attracting to our state large numbers of industrious and enterprising emigrants.¹²

The combined effect of immigration and the disposal of unsettled lands was to open up large sections of the state to the plow. Heaviest settlement occurred during and immediately after the Civil War in the central and northwestern portions of the lower peninsula; most of the soil in the southernmost counties was already under cultivation, and few land entries were made in the chilly, densely forested reaches north of the Straits of Mackinac. The Grand Traverse Bay region underwent the most dramatic agricultural expansion of the decade. Visitors found that section's climate surprisingly mild and well suited to the growth of fruit and cereal crops. Their glowing reports began to attract attention about 1860, and aided by the Homestead Act thousands of immigrants poured into the region. In the first four years of the 1860's the population of that area nearly doubled, while the long-established southern counties remained

¹¹George N. Fuller, editor, *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, 2:530 (Lansing, 1926).

¹²Commissioner of the Michigan State Land Office, *Annual Reports*, 1861-1865 (Lansing, 1862-1866). 1861, 6; 1862, 17; 1863, 4; 1864, 5; 1865, 13; "The Public Domain," Document Number 45, part IV, page 351-55, *House Miscellaneous Document* (47 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D. C., 1884).

nearly static. The rapid farm development of Grand Traverse County was typical of the region and may be seen in the following chart:¹³

GRAND TRAVERSE COUNTY	1860	1870
Improved land in farms, in acres	2,112	13,607
Unimproved land in farms, in acres	7,802	81,028
Cash value of farms	\$67,230	\$1,009,720
Value of livestock	\$22,107	\$164,350
Wheat raised, in bushels	5,531	31,157
Indian corn, in bushels	3,490	26,708
Oats, in bushels	4,270	15,218
Wool clip, in pounds	0	913

Counties in the central and west-central parts of the state experienced equally startling settlement. Between 1860 and 1870 the cash value of farms in Mason County soared from \$8,050 to \$337,720; and in Montcalm County from \$517,230 to \$3,343,891. Agricultural advance was substantial but much less spectacular in Washtenaw, Oakland, Calhoun, Lenawee, and other southern counties.

Thus with newcomers filling up the rural sections of the state, women, children, and old men working in the fields, and improved farm machinery making cultivation easier, Michigan not only managed to contribute its share to the war effort, but grew rich in the process. For farm laborers who were able to avoid military service, the times were especially propitious. In most places pay for male helpers rose more than enough to compensate for the inflated currency of the period, though many grumbled about the high cost of food and clothing.¹⁴ "Wages to farm laborers, by the day, are commonly \$1.25," commented a Cass County resident in 1864. "Now, in harvest, they are \$2.50, and by the month from \$20 to \$26. In former years, before the war, wages have been but about one-half the present rates." Some districts showed lesser or greater pay increases, but most followed this pattern. After Appomattox and the return of soldiers to the farms, labor remained scarce and wages high, despite a swollen population and work-saving farm machinery. The

¹³Alexander Winchell, *The Grand Traverse Region*, 81 (Ann Arbor, 1866); Agriculture, *Eighth Census*, 1860, 76-77; Wealth and Industry, *Ninth Census*, 1870, 3:176-77.

¹⁴David Ward, *The Autobiography of David Ward*, 117 (New York, 1912); *The Country Gentleman*, 26:372 (December 7, 1865).

adjustment from war to peace was smooth, at least as far as agricultural labor was concerned.¹⁵

Michigan farm owners found the war years ones of unprecedented prosperity. Harvests were larger and prices higher than ever before. "The farmers around here were never as well off . . . as they are at present," remarked J. L. Tappan of Ann Arbor, "notwithstanding the war and its concomitant evils." Travelers commented on the obvious well-being of rural Michigan, noting that farm houses and outbuildings were in good repair and well painted, orchards carefully groomed, and roads and fences in excellent order. Spanking new machinery, shining carriages, cutters and bobsleighs all evidenced the fortunate condition of the land. Smokehouses for curing meats and impressive red barns sprang up over the countryside. Most striking of all were the large white houses, giving mute testimony to the affluence of their occupants. Saltpork, hams, potatoes, beans, and other foods filled the farmer's larder; company was always welcome.¹⁶ Between 1860 and the end of 1867 the value of farm lands in Michigan had risen 70 per cent, and the dollar value of farms more than doubled in the course of the decade. The total number of farms grew by 60 per cent, from 62,422 in 1860 to 98,786 by 1870, while the amount of land in them increased some 43 per cent. The result was a sizable decrease in the average size of farms during the war decade—from 113 to 101 acres. This contraction was apparently part of a general trend toward more complete cultivation of smaller plots, rather than a phenomenon of the war, since the decade of the 1870's witnessed a similar decline in average farm size, while the percentage of improved land steadily mounted. With the reduction in farm size went a decline in the percentage of persons employed in agricultural pursuits, in spite of the manifest prosperity of farmers and farm laborers. During the 1860's the percentage of these two categories to the total of all occupations slipped from 52 to 46 per cent, although an absolute advance of more than 60,000 occurred. This relative dip in farm employment is to be explained by the growth of industry and commerce, rather than by any overcrowding

¹⁵Michigan Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1864, 14, 16; United States Commissioner of Agriculture, *Annual Reports*, 1862-1870 (Washington, D. C., 1863-1871), 1866, 84.

¹⁶*The Country Gentleman*, 20:17 (July 3, 1862); Henry O. Severance, *The Story of a Village Community*, 43-45 (New York, 1931).

the agricultural field. As we have seen, rural workers remained highly paid and in short supply throughout the decade, despite population growth and labor-saving implements.

If the Michigan farmer prospered during the war, he earned it by producing banner harvests throughout. The Wolverine state not only provided for its own constantly-rising numbers, but also managed to send east large shipments of wheat, corn, oats, and rye to feed Union armies, New England factory operatives, and European populations. Patriotic agriculturists were well aware of the importance of their crops to the Northern cause, and strove to increase production by every possible means. "The relations of Agriculture to War are well understood here," wrote a Michigan correspondent to the *Country Gentleman* in October, 1862, and it will not be the fault of our farmers if the army is in want of supplies." Bumper harvests evoked expressions of praise from the governor himself, and farmers congratulated themselves on a job well done.

Wheat was Michigan's most valuable crop throughout the decade, and usually its largest. In 1859 the state was the nation's ninth leading producer of that grain, supplying 4.8 per cent of the total. By 1869 it had nearly doubled its annual output, growing 16,265,773 bushels amounting to 5.6 per cent of the nation's wheat crop; and by 1879 only Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio reaped larger harvests. Much of Michigan's increased wheat production can be credited to normal agricultural development (the output mounted nearly two-fold every decade between 1850 and 1880), but the war was undoubtedly a stimulating factor, with its hungry armies to feed, as was the high demand from England and the continent where crop failures marred 1860, 1861, and 1862. In 1861 the British harvest was forty million bushels below normal, and American exports increased accordingly.¹⁷ Although the amount of wheat grown expanded steadily, the yield per acre in Michigan dipped noticeably during the 1860's. In 1862, wheat averaged eighteen bushels per acre; the following year the harvest per acre was only thirteen bushels. By 1868 the yield was but 12.5 bushels of wheat per acre. The ravages of the Hessian fly, and the depletion of the soil were the chief causes

¹⁷Fite, *The North During the Civil War*, 17; Agriculture, *Eighth Census*, 1860, xlii-xliii.

for this decline. The former probably caused the greatest damage, and was the source of much concern and discussion throughout the war.

Most wheat was raised in the rich countries of southern Michigan, although northern farmers were threatening their monopoly. Calhoun, Jackson, and Washtenaw counties were the leading producers in 1863, as they had been for five years before. With the exception of the first year of the war—when the loss of southern trade and debts, and a panic in western money upset the market—the price of wheat rose steadily during the decade. The agricultural depression reached its nadir in August-September, 1861, when the Detroit market listed red wheat at 84 cents a bushel, and some places in the state sold it as low as 75 cents.¹⁸ By the year's end, however, recovery had begun as a result of greenback inflation, government purchases, and shortages in Europe; and wheat closed at about \$1.00 a bushel. In 1862, the Detroit Board of Trade recorded the average price of wheat as \$1.12 per bushel; in 1863, \$1.47; and in 1864 at \$1.82 a bushel. Within a year after Lee's surrender, this grain sold at an average of \$2.55, although by 1868 it had tumbled to \$1.64.¹⁹

Exigencies of war affected the production of other staple crops similarly, and their fluctuations in price followed the same pattern. Corn, oats, barley, rye, buckwheat, hay, and potatoes, all showed increases during the years of conflict, although like wheat most suffered a decline in yield per acre. Again, the fertile counties south of the Flint-Grand Rapids line accounted for the lion's share of the harvests. For all crops the adverse economic conditions of 1861 caused the lowest price level of the decade.

One of the most interesting and spectacular of wartime agricultural developments was a phenomenal growth in the production of hops. Between 1859 and 1869 Michigan's output of this brewing ingredient expanded thirteenfold, from 60,602 to 828,269 pounds. During the last half of the decade hop growing became a veritable

¹⁸Detroit Tribune, *A Review of the Commerce of Detroit for 1861*, 12 (Detroit, 1862); Ann Arbor, *The Peninsular Courier*, August 6, 1861; Sturgis Journal, August 22, 1861.

¹⁹Detroit Tribune, *Commerce of Detroit for 1861*, 12; *The Peninsular Courier*, December 3, 1861; Ray Haddock, compiler, *Annual Statement of the Trade, Commerce and Manufactures of the City of Detroit, for the Year 1864*, 7 (Detroit, 1865).

mania among farmers in the southern part of the state. The number of breweries jumped from 54 to 94, providing a home market for the crop.²⁰ There were several causes for the hop craze. In the first place, a discriminatory tax on whisky, coupled with a growing taste for lager beer everywhere in the United States, heightened the demand for hop production. A series of crop failures in New York, the leading hop-growing state, raised prices and further stimulated the cultivation of the plant. Finally, it is reasonable to believe that since hops were commonly harvested by women and children, they became popular at a time when male labor was scant and costly.²¹

Michigan hops were of the highest quality and brought top prices in eastern and middle western markets. The Detroit Board of Trade felt Wolverine state hops proved their excellence by the fact that "in numerous cases, Michigan hops have been sent east, newly sacked, marked New York hops, and sold all over the west as the 'original Jacobs.'"²² Once eastern harvests revived and failures in Michigan dampened enthusiasm, hop production dwindled rapidly. In 1879, the state raised only 266,010 pounds, over a third of which was raised in the single county of Kent.²³

The flow of southern commodities (chiefly cotton, sugar, and tobacco) to the North diminished to a mere trickle once the war began. Union farmers took steps to compensate for this loss of supply with varied success. Unlike the southernmost loyal states, Michigan made no attempt to raise cotton in its temperate climate and short growing season. Instead it directed its attention to the production of cotton substitutes—wool and flax. Although efficient processes for converting flax to linen were wanting, considerable interest in its cultivation made itself evident as a result of wartime pressures. During the 1860's, Michigan's output of this fibrous plant catapulted from scarcely 4,000 to 240,000 pounds. Of this increase, Branch County supplied more than 220,000 pounds. In the following decade the

²⁰"Manufacturers of the United States in 1860," *Eighth Census*, 3:258-273 (Washington, D. C. 1865); *Ninth Census*, 1870, 3:679-682.

²¹Frederick Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin During the Civil War Decade*, 37-38, (Madison, 1916).

²²Haddock, *Trade of Detroit for 1864*, 9; Agriculture, *Tenth Census*, 1880, 3:285.

²³Agriculture, *Tenth Census*, 1880, 3:229.

state's total climbed to 6,542,000 pounds, and its center of production shifted to Ingham and Saginaw counties.

Far more important in supplanting Confederate cotton was the sharp advance of the northern wool industry. While the consumption of raw cotton in the United States during the Civil War was less than half its usual figure, the production of wool in the North increased from sixty million pounds in 1860 to 140 million by 1865. Michigan, which at the outbreak of hostilities was the fourth leading wool-growing state, played an important part in this higher output.

Disappointing wheat harvests for several seasons before the Civil War turned many Michigan farmers to sheep husbandry, so that by the end of 1861 the Detroit Board of Trade could announce with confidence that "the breeding of sheep has now obtained a basis in Michigan, which cannot be shaken even by the wonderful improvement in the wheat crop." Government orders for uniforms and blankets, the removal of southern cotton, apparent high prices, and some measure of protection against foreign competition, all combined to encourage larger wool production. Michigan woolgrowers responded with alacrity, and by 1864 had more than doubled the amount clipped in 1861. The end of the war brought a leveling off in fleece production, the 1870 total being nearly what it had been at mid-decade.²⁴

Washtenaw, Oakland, Jackson, Calhoun, Lenawee, and Livingston counties in southern Michigan were the centers of wool growing in the 1860's. These six counties raised fully 40 per cent of the state's fleece output. There were woolen factories at Battle Creek, Jonesville, Monroe, Pontiac, Ann Arbor, and St. Clair, but most of the wool clip still went to the mills of New England.²⁵ The price of fleece underwent the economic vagaries common to the war era, and consequently fluctuated much. Like other agricultural products, wool suffered from the unsettling forces loosed by the outbreak of battle in 1861. The bombardment of Fort Sumter was the signal for speculators to open fire on the price of wool, and from the average of 43

²⁴Chester W. Wright, *Wool-Growing and the Tariff*, 160 (Cambridge, 1910); *Detroit Tribune, Commerce of Detroit for 1861*, 19, 20; *Wealth and Industry, Ninth Census*, 1870, 3:177-78.

²⁵The Hamilton Mills Company of Massachusetts was the largest purchaser of Michigan wool.

cents a pound in 1860, it slipped to 28 cents. By the year's end the issuance of greenbacks and government requests for woollen goods had started fleece receipts rising. Woolgrowers commanded an average price of 48 cents a pound in 1862, and about 60 cents in 1863. Congress responded in 1864 to pleas of American wool-raisers, and increased tariff schedules on foreign fleece. The natural effect was greatly to stimulate prices, and wool which had been selling at 63 cents a pound shot to a wartime high of \$1.03 before the year was out. One informed source estimated that three-fourths of the entire clip of 1864 sold from first hands at a dollar.²⁶

Peace brought a falling off in the government's demand for wool, and the price dropped accordingly. Michigan woolgrowers held public shearings and festivals, and the State Agricultural Society offered premiums on fleece in an attempt to increase popular interest in the industry. In his report for 1865, the secretary of the State Board of Agriculture observed that

The practice of shearing sheep at public exhibitions, or what may be called matches, is becoming popular in this state, as it has for some time been in other parts of the country.²⁷

The Berrien County Agricultural Society attested to the success of such programs when in 1866 it reported: "The introduction of sheep has been greater during the past year than for any five previous years." Nevertheless, as noted earlier, the number of sheep in the state remained nearly constant from 1865 to the end of the decade.

Just as the loss of southern cotton fostered a growth in wool production, so the loss of Louisiana cane sugar bred interest in saccharin substitutes. The most important of these was sorghum molasses. Two kinds of sweet sorghum, Chinese and Imphee or Otaheitian, reached America in the decade before the Civil War, and appeared in Michigan some time after 1853. By 1860 the state was producing some 87,000 gallons of sorghum syrup. The onset of conflict evoked the feeling that "Farmers should grow sufficient [sorghum cane] for

²⁶*Peninsular Courier*, June 25, 1861; James E. Scripps, compiler, *Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of Detroit for the Year 1860*, 30-34 (Detroit, 1861); *Detroit Tribune*, *Commerce of Detroit for 1861*, 7-20; Haddock, *Trade of Detroit for 1862*, 22; Haddock, *Trade of Detroit for 1864*, 2; *Sturgis Journal*, April 28, 1864.

²⁷*Michigan Agriculture, Annual Report*, 1865, 83.

their year's sugar and syrup, that we may not be dependent on the traitorous South for these things,"²⁸ and output advanced markedly throughout the West. Encouraged by steady rises in the price of sugar, Michigan farmers manufactured 533,018 gallons of syrup in 1862, claiming the highest amount per acre in the United States. Only Ohio, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, and Indiana produced larger totals. At the end of the war, Michigan's sorghum molasses output had reached 800,000 gallons, and demand for the syrup seemed as great as ever. Yet by the close of the decade the resumption of southern sugar imports, poor growing weather, and inherent difficulties in the processing had dropped production below 100,000 gallons, and Michigan farm officials observed that "the excitement under which the cultivation of sorghum in the country was for some time carried on has now passed away."²⁹

Wartime attentiveness to sugar manufacture received institutional expression in April, 1862, when the Michigan State Sugar Cane Growers' Association was formed at Adrian. The objects of the association were "to collect and disseminate information as to the most successful method of cultivating the Sorghum and of manufacturing sugar therefrom." Certain impurities in the sorghum plant had always made refinement a tedious and unrewarding task, and although the cane growers met regularly during the 1860's, little cane sugar was ever produced in the state.³⁰

No advance took place in the manufacture of either maple sugar or honey over the war decade; in fact both showed diminished output despite the unsatisfied demand for sweet stuffs. Nor did sugar beet production get underway until the end of the century, though a few unsuccessful attempts were made in the 1860's. One Genesee County farmer wrote in 1864 that he had experimented with sugar beets, "but the care and trouble to keep them through our hard winters, has led to raising grain, which is not attended with so much trouble." The amount of hand labor needed in raising root crops

²⁸*The Peninsular Courier*, April 15, 1862.

²⁹Liberty Hyde Bailey, editor, *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture*, 2:576 (New York, 1910); *Peninsular Courier*, April 15, 1862; *American Agriculturist*, 20:6 (January, 1861); *Michigan Agriculture, Annual Report*, 1870, 149.

³⁰*Peninsular Courier*, May 13, 1862; Frank S. Kedzie, "Sugar Production in Michigan," in *Michigan History*, 16:296-303 (Lansing, 1932).

retarded the growth of sugar beets during an era of scarce and high-price labor.³¹

Tobacco also came in for special attention once southern sources dried up, although Michigan remained a distinctly minor cultivator of this leaf. Between 1860 and 1863 the state upped its output of tobacco from 121,099 to 207,061 pounds, in direct response to a rise in prices. "The cultivation of this crop," noted a farm official in 1865, "is extending in the state, the high prices caused by the late war greatly increasing the inducements thereto," and the 1866 harvest set a new record. Within four years, however, southern competition had all but ended Michigan tobacco cultivation; only 5,385 pounds reached the market in 1870.

Unlike many western states, Michigan did not greatly alter its marketing practices as a result of the Civil War. Throughout the ante bellum era it had sent the bulk of its agricultural surpluses to the Atlantic seaboard, so that the closing of the Mississippi River in 1861 scarcely affected Michigan. The reason for this affinity to tidewater ports was obvious: its relatively eastern position and easy access to main lines of railroad and steamship transportation made other routes financially inexpedient. With rail and water carriers competing for agricultural shipments, rates actually decreased during the war, in spite of paper money inflation. A bushel of wheat which cost eleven and a half cents to ship to New York at the outbreak of hostilities, could be sent for less than ten cents in 1865. Michigan's farm belt had the benefit of three transstate railroads, both constructed in prewar years, linking the interior of the state with Chicago, Toledo, Detroit, and other trade centers. The war served as a check on railway building in the 1860's, but the companies in existence expanded their services to provide for heavy shipments of wheat and other foodstuffs to the coast. Relations between Michigan farmers and the railroads were cordial throughout the war decade—a result of prosperity and reasonable rates—however, the 1870's was to witness the breaking down of this good feeling.³²

³¹F. A. Stilgenbauer, "The Michigan Sugar Beet Industry," in *Economic Geography*, 3:486-506 (October, 1927).

³²"Transportation Routes to the Seaboard," in *Senate Reports*, number 307, appendix: 167 (43 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D. C., 1874); Michigan Commissioner of Railroads, *First Annual Report, for the Year Ending December 31, 1872*, ix (Lansing, 1874); F. Clever Bald, *Michigan in Four Centuries*, 269 (New York, 1954).

The Civil War epoch was one of marvelous expansion in the field of animal husbandry as it had been in crop cultivation. Attractive prices, extraordinary government demand, and a trend already underway in the 1850's to substitute "the cow for the plow," coalesced after Blue first clashed with Gray to drive Michigan livestock values to unprecedented heights. Between 1861 and February, 1866, the total value of farm animals in the state jumped more than 100 per cent—from \$23,714,771 to \$52,091,122. By 1870 it had dipped to \$49,809,869, indicating that the advance was in large measure a product of war conditions. Of all Michigan farm stock, only the working oxen failed to increase in number during the war decade. In the three years from 1861 to 1864, the number of horses in the state advanced 90 per cent, mules 130 per cent, cows and other cattle 100 per cent, hogs 80 per cent, and sheep 120 per cent. The great rise in the number of horses and mules can be explained largely by army demand and the need for beasts of burden to pull the many new farm implements. Government orders for beef, pork, and mutton help to account for other increases, though much of the growth was normal. Michigan sheep raisers supplied not only the local market, but also states farther west, especially Illinois and Iowa, where wool-growing was fast becoming a subject of great interest.³³

Just as important as the growing number of the state's livestock was the increased attention paid to the careful breeding of farm animals. Advances in this direction occurred in nearly all classes, and in most instances the Michigan Agricultural College, now Michigan State University, led the way. Among cattle, pureblooded breeds, the most popular being the Durham and the Devon, gradually replaced nondescript local stock. In 1863 the agricultural college purchased three Durham and three Devon pedigreed cattle from the herds of New England and New York—the first purebreds at the college—and soon thereafter it began to register breeds for Michigan farmers. One observer reported in 1864 that "The breed termed 'native' is fast disappearing from off the farms, and improved stock is taking their place." In that same year the agricultural college bought the first Galloway bull in the state.

³³Agriculture, *Eighth Census*, 1860, 77; Wealth and Industry, *Ninth Census*, 1870, 3:77; Haddock, *Trade of Detroit for 1862*, 23.

Sheepbreeding also received close attention, with measurable results. The greatly increased importance of wool production during the war resulted in a distinct preference for Spanish Merino sheep to mixed strains because of their heavy fleece. "The introduction of the Merino has added 33 1/3 per cent to the weight of the wool," opined one husbandman; and between 1859 and 1863 the average amount of wool per sheep in Michigan rose more than three quarters of a pound. When after 1866 the market for wool declined, interest shifted from the Merinos to the long-wooled Leicesters, Cotswolds, and Lincolns, which provided a better grade of mutton. However, the concern for pureblood remained. "Notwithstanding the depression in the wool trade," a Genesee County farmer wrote in 1866, "there is no falling off observable in the interest taken for some time back in the improvement in sheep." Progress was less apparent with regard to the breeding of horses and swine, though official concern was manifest.⁸⁴

A most important development in dairy farming occurred in Michigan during the Civil War decade—the introduction of the factory system of butter and cheese production. This process, whereby an individual devotes his attention exclusively to the manufacture of dairy products from the milkings of others' cows, appeared first in New York in 1851. The first cheese factory in the West began operation at Bloomingdale, Illinois, in 1864. Presented with the examples of New York and Illinois, and concerned over Michigan's inability to provide enough butter and cheese for its own consumption, Sanford Howard, the secretary of the State Board of Agriculture, began urging the adoption of the factory system in Michigan. Greatly inflated prices for dairy products, as much as triple the normal figures, reinforced Mr. Howard's urgent appeal; and in January, 1866, Rufus Baker of Fairfield in Lenawee County began building the first cheese factory in the state. Before the year was out three others began operation in southern Michigan, and early in 1867 the governor signed into law "an Act to authorize the formation of corporations for manufacturing cheese and other products from milk." These early plants made only cheese, but Michigan dairymen soon found

⁸⁴Michigan Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1863, 41, 77-83; 1864, 33, 13; 1865, 54; 1866, 294, 286; *The Cultivator and Country Gentleman*, 30:205 (September 26, 1867).

it expedient to add the manufacture of butter to the process in order to save the butter particles usually carried off in the whey. C. H. White opened the first butter-cheese factory in the state at Ceresco in June, 1867.³⁵

The advantages of the factory system were many. Rufus Baker summed them all up when he said:

I have found the manufacture of cheese to be very remunerative when made a primary business, and I might say very unprofitable when made secondary.³⁶

Specialization enabled the dairyman to buy materials at wholesale, to better control the price of his product, and, it was claimed, to manufacture superior and more uniform milk products. There were objections to the system, chief among which were the difficulty in detecting adulterated milk, the danger of its turning sour in transport, and the varying qualities of milk; but they were outweighed, and by 1870 there were thirty dairy establishments in operation. After the successful year of 1869, one Michigan factory-cheese manufacturer wrote the board of agriculture that "farmers have got cheese on the brain, and seem to be rushing pell-mell into dairying." By 1870 dairy factories were producing more than two-thirds of the state's cheese and much of its butter. Between 1860 and 1870 Michigan's butter output mounted from 15,503,482 pounds to 24,400,185, and cheese from 1,641,897 to 2,400,946. The number of milch cows rose from 179,543 to 250,859 to supply this increased production. Lenawee County in south-central Michigan was the state's dairy leader. At the end of the decade its fifteen cheese factories manufactured fully 60 per cent of the total. The growth of the factory system begun in this era struck a body blow at traditional self-sufficiency of farm units, and ushered in a period of increased agricultural specialization. This development must be viewed alongside other evidences of changing attitudes, concepts, and methods employed by Michigan farmers, fermenting out of wartime circumstances.

In his first annual report (1862), the United States Commissioner of Agriculture set as one of the requisites for farming progress "a

³⁵Arthur C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870*, 375 (Springfield, Illinois, 1919); *The Compiled Laws of the State of Michigan*, 1:1024 (Lansing, 1872).

³⁶Michigan Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1866, 189.

more thorough knowledge and practice of agriculture as a science and as an art." Progressive-minded Michigan farmers echoed this admonition and during the war years undertook to advance the cause of scientific agriculture. The chief instrument of farming education during the Civil War era and afterward was the Michigan Agricultural College, founded in 1855 and designed "to improve and teach the science and practice of agriculture." It opened May 13, 1857, under the direction of President Joseph R. Williams and a faculty of four.⁸⁷ A host of difficulties beset the college in its formative, ante bellum years, not the least of which was the uncertain, sometimes hostile, attitude of Michigan farmers toward "book farming." It remained for the lessons of the war to alter this feeling, and place scientific farming on a sound footing in the state.

Looking backward, Theophilus C. Abbot, president of the college from 1862 to 1884, referred to the years of the Civil War as the darkest in its history. Indeed, there was reason to believe so: legislative appropriations were small and slow in forthcoming, the faculty was understaffed and underpaid, and enrollment suffered from Lincoln's call to arms. Faced with extraordinary wartime expenses, the legislature slashed the college budget from \$37,500 in 1859 to \$6,652 in 1861. The painfully undersized faculty struggled along on salaries as low as \$600 a year; President Abbot himself received but \$1500. Ninety-nine students, faculty, and board members of the Agricultural College served in the Union forces; in 1861 officials suspended commencement exercises when the graduating class joined the army en masse.⁸⁸

Yet the college did manage, in spite of adversity, to make real progress toward establishing its position as a leading force in the agricultural life of the state. Its solid, technical curriculum soon dispelled popular misconceptions and was clearly molded to the needs of the times. In 1863, the college first offered a course in the

⁸⁷Michigan Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1863, 25. Although successful agricultural schools existed as early as 1821, "To Michigan belongs the distinction of having the oldest agricultural college now in operation in North America." See Bailey, *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture*, 4:363, 398.

⁸⁸William James Beal, *History of the Michigan Agricultural College and Biographical Sketches of Trustees and Professors*, 47, 54, 59, 305, 484-95; (East Lansing, 1915); Michigan Agricultural College, *Catalogues of the Officers and Students, 1861-1866* (Lansing, 1861-1866), 1861, 7-10; 1862, 7-11; 1863, 7-11; 1864, 7-11; 1865, 5-9; 1866, 5-10.

principles of stockbreeding, in response to contemporary interest in this aspect of husbandry, and two years later Professor Manly Miles began teaching a course in practical agriculture, the first of its kind in the United States. The faculty grew in the later years of the war, and with the return of peace student enrollment shot to new heights. The unusual circumstances of the times proved the efficacy of scientific farming techniques and created a climate of opinion generally favorable to agricultural education. As early as 1864 the secretary of the State Board of Agriculture could write:

Evidence is everywhere met with that the measures which have been adopted by the State in reference to . . . [the education of the farming class] are in principle sanctioned by the people. They demand that there shall be a constant advance in this direction; that the best means for enabling the farmer to understand the theory and practice of agriculture, shall be placed within his reach.

And in his annual message to a joint session of the state legislature in 1865, Governor Austin Blair, commenting on the agricultural college, remarked: "I think we may safely say its dangers are all passed, and its permanence and success secured."³⁹

A second important agency in the collection and dissemination of farm information in this period was the State Board of Agriculture, set up by the legislature on March 15, 1861. Among its many duties were the supervision of the agricultural college, and the gathering of data regarding "the newest and best" modes of cultivation, stock-raising, and dairying. The organic act instructed the secretary of the board to encourage the formation of local agricultural societies, the importation of improved breeds of livestock, and "such domestic industry and household arts as are calculated to promote the general thrift, wealth and resources of the State." Of special significance was the provision for the institution of winter courses of lectures for persons not enrolled in the college, resulting in the farmers' institutes of a later decade.⁴⁰

State and local farm organizations met regularly throughout the war in spite of unfavorable conditions. In fact, a good many were chartered during the early 1860's. By 1867, there were in Michigan twenty-three county and nine township agricultural societies. Of

³⁹Fuller, editor, *Messages of the Governors*, 2:502.

⁴⁰*Compiled Laws of Michigan*, I:1176-85. The institute movement began in Michigan in 1875.

these, twelve had formed after 1860. There was also a movement toward regional consolidation, exemplified by the Michigan Central Agricultural Society, organized in November, 1865, and embracing Ingham, Eaton, Clinton, Shiawassee, and Livingston counties.⁴¹ Associations of wool-growers, sugar-growers, and dairymen, gave institutional expression to the movement toward specialization. An act of January 15, 1862, allowing duly organized agricultural societies to mortgage their real estate to prevent immediate loss greatly aided Michigan groups to weather the stormy war years.

The agricultural fair continued to occupy an important place in the educational and social life of Michigan farmers, despite the depressing and unsettling influence of the war. The Wolverine state was one of the few in the Middle West to hold state exhibitions regularly during the sixties. Reduction or suspension of state aid, rural preoccupation with farm chores, and military occupation of fair sites hit such gatherings hard. In 1861, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Minnesota cancelled state fairs because of troop encampments on their grounds. The following year, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and Michigan held the only state fairs in the Northwest. Though the number of visitors and exhibitors diminished, the fair was firmly rooted and failed to be shaken.⁴²

Despite wartime preoccupation with total output, and not with yield per acre (which fell steadily throughout), the several instruments of farming education—the agricultural college, the state board of agriculture, and other farm organizations with their meetings and exhibitions—succeeded in arousing some interest in more economical, scientific agricultural methods. Though the movement from extensive to intensive cultivation did not become general until later, the seeds for this development were sown in the 1860's. A new concern over agricultural waste: misuse of manures, soil depletion, and erosion made itself felt in this epoch. The annual reports of the State Board of Agriculture are filled with articles urging crop rotation, fertilization, and drainage. In 1864, the board's secretary

⁴¹United States Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1867, 385; Michigan Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1866, 311.

⁴²Earle D. Ross, "The Evolution of the Agricultural Fair in the Northwest," in *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 24:459-60 (July, 1926); *The American Agriculturist*, 20:324 (October, 1861), 21:250 (August, 1862), 22:282 (September, 1863), 23:259 (September, 1864); *The Country Gentleman*, 18:241 (October, 10, 1861).

entreated Michigan farmers to adopt more economical methods, lamenting "that the advantage to be derived from comparatively large outlays on small tracts near cities or towns has been too much overlooked." Some agriculturists saw the writing on the wall and began in a small way to change from low to high cultivation. Soil depletion, rapid disposal of the public domain, and an increasing population were making the adoption of new techniques imperative. Cognizance of this fact in the war decade is indicated in the statement of the southern Michigan farmer who wrote:

From 15 to 20 years ago but little except wheat was shipped from this place [Hudson], and the wheat crop constituted almost the sole dependence of the farmer. Now it will not average above a fourth or fifth, and is but one in the succession of the various crops turned from the farm.⁴³

Along with the increased interest in scientific farming and the trend toward specialization in agriculture, went an advance in the dignity and importance attached to the farmer's profession, by himself and by others. Governor Crapo summed up this feeling when he told the Michigan Legislature in 1865 that "the cultivation of the soil has justly come to be regarded as one of the most noble and dignified callings in which an educated and scientific man can be engaged."⁴⁴

⁴³*The Cultivator and Country Gentleman*, 30:77 (August 1, 1867).

⁴⁴Fuller, editor, *Messages of the Governors*, 2:535-36.

Free Negroes in Cass County Before the Civil War

Harold B. Fields

CASS COUNTY WAS THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OLD when the Civil War began, its first pioneer having arrived late in 1825.¹ Adjoining Indiana, and situated in the valley of the St. Joseph River, it had been one of the first counties in southwestern Michigan to be opened to extensive settlement. Its chief lines of communication were with Fort Wayne to the southeast and, after the opening of the Chicago Road in 1829, with Detroit to the east.²

Within five years after the initial settlement, nearly a thousand people had come to establish homes,³ and five thousand more had arrived by 1840.⁴ In 1850—the year taken as the basis of this study—the population had nearly doubled,⁵ and on the eve of the war it had mounted to almost eighteen thousand persons.⁶ Although there were several villages in the county housing some industry, the main interest of its inhabitants lay in the field of agriculture.

From the very beginning, groups with common backgrounds and interests tended to cluster together, which often lent a distinct and characteristic flavor to certain neighborhoods. A large Quaker settlement, for example, at an early date, had taken form on Young's Prairie, which lay a little to the east of the county's geographical center. There, in section one of Calvin Township, they had built

¹Howard S. Rogers, *History of Cass County, from 1825 to 1875*, 113 (Cassopolis, 1875); Alfred Mathews, *History of Cass County, Michigan*, 58-59 (Chicago, 1882); L. H. Glover, *A Twentieth Century History of Cass County, Michigan*, 41-43 (Chicago, 1906).

²George Newman Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan; A Study of the Settlement of the Lower Peninsula During the Territorial Period, 1805-1837*, 256-57 (Lansing, 1916).

³Fifth Census of the United States (1830), Michigan, volume 1, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁴Sixth Census of the United States (1840), Michigan, volume 1, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁵Seventh Census of the United States (1850), Michigan, volume 2, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁶Eighth Census of the United States (1860), Michigan, volume 4, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

their church—the Birch Lake Monthly Meeting House—which may well be regarded as the social and cultural center of the Quaker community. Many of them had come from similar settlements in Ohio, such as those in Logan County and Preble County, and before that from long-established homes in the Carolinas, which they had left because of their strong repugnance for the blighting effects of the institution of slavery.⁷

It is within a few miles of the Birch Lake Meeting House that we find the core of the earliest Negro settlements in Cass County, although there is no indication that they were, themselves, Quakers. It cannot be established with certainty when the first of these people arrived within the bounds of the county, but the early census records show that they were not numerous before 1845. In 1830, for instance, only one inhabitant out of 919 was specifically described as a "free colored person."⁸ Seven years later, in the first census taken by the state of Michigan, no one at all was so classified,⁹ while in 1840 there were only eight. Four of these were males, four females; six of them were between twenty-four and thirty-six years of age, the others between ten and twenty-four. Since they were widely scattered in four townships, it would seem that they were working as hired help in white families.¹⁰

In 1845 the state of Michigan took its second census, and the reported results lead to some confusion in this matter. The published statistical tables show that seventy-one nonwhites were then living in the county.¹¹ It is known, however, that some of these were Potawatami Indians living in Silver Creek Township; some twenty miles from the Birch Lake Meeting House. There had been twenty

⁷Mathews, *History of Cass County*, 243, 380.

⁸"Abstract of the Returns of the Fifth Census . . .," *Executive Document* 263:42 (22 Congress, 1 session, *Executive Documents*, printed by order of the House of Representatives at the First Session of the 22 Congress begun and held at the City of Washington, December 7, 1831, in the 56 year of the Independence of the United States, volume 6) (Washington, D. C., 1832).

⁹*Manual of the Legislature of the State of Michigan*, 1839, 74 (Detroit, 1839).

¹⁰United States Census Office, *Compendium of the . . . Sixth Census . . .* (1840), 94 (Washington, D. C., 1841).

¹¹*Manual Containing the Rules of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, and Joint Rules of the Two Houses and Other Matters*, 1849, 100 (Detroit, 1849).

four of them in 1837,¹² at least twelve in 1840,¹³ and about thirteen in 1850,¹⁴ and it seems safe to assume that in 1845 there were approximately fifty persons of Negro ancestry in the county.¹⁵

Not more than three of these can be accounted for by name, however. One was a fugitive slave by the name of Lawson, who is said to have been brought in as early as 1836 by a Quaker preacher named Henry H. Wray, and who remained several years.¹⁶ He may have been that Howell Lawson, age thirty, born in North Carolina, who was enumerated in the Federal census of 1850, and then disappeared from the record. He had no apparent connection with a family of Lawsons which arrived from North Carolina by way of Indiana in 1853.¹⁷ Jesse Scott, a Guinea Negro, is said to have arrived in 1838. He, too, was a fugitive slave, and remained for some years, raising tobacco on a farm later owned by Andrew Hostler.¹⁸ Although two families by the name of Scott had settled by 1850, however, neither seems to have included a man named Jesse.

The third colored pioneer listed was Willi. Brown, and he is said to have been "among the first" to arrive.¹⁹ This seems to be substantiated by his inclusion in the list of taxpayers in Calvin Township in 1846 and subsequently, and also in the census of 1850.

Fortunately for our purposes, the period between 1845 and 1850 is the one in which records begin to be more profuse. For the first time, the census of 1850 includes the name of each member of every family listed, together with age, sex, occupation (if any), value of real estate owned, and state of birth. A few other items often appear, also, such as an indication of which children in the family had attended school within the previous twelve months. In previous censuses we have only the name of the head of the family in each case, other members being counted in age-groups. Furthermore,

¹²*Manual of the Legislature of the State of Michigan*, 1839, 74.

¹³Sixth Census of the United States (1840), Michigan, volume 1.

¹⁴Seventh Census of the United States (1850), Michigan, volume 2.

¹⁵Mathews, *History of Cass County*, 110, estimates the Negro population of the county at fifty in 1847.

¹⁶Mathews, *History of Cass County*, 386.

¹⁷Glover, *A Twentieth Century History of Cass County*, 291. Statement of William Lawson, grandson of the immigrant of 1853, made in 1947.

¹⁸Mathews, *History of Cass County*, 386.

¹⁹Mathews, *History of Cass County*, 386.

we have the tax assessment rolls for 1846 and successive years, which have been preserved in the county treasurer's office, and various vital statistics in the county clerk's office, as well as records of estates administered in the probate court.

If, in 1845, as stated above, some fifty free colored persons were living in Cass County, the rapid growth of the colony must have begun about that time, since, in 1850, 389 residents were so classified. This number constitutes about 15 per cent of the colored population of the entire state. Cass County, indeed, outranked every county in Michigan except Wayne, where 724 were living.

Three-quarters of those in Cass County in that year were concentrated within a few miles of the Birch Lake Meeting House, although their homes were scattered in three townships, as follows: thirty families in Calvin Township, including 158 persons; twenty-one families in Porter Township, including 105 persons; five families in Penn Township, including 31 persons. It is this rather compact community of fifty-six families that was examined in an effort to determine its origins and the time of settlement within the county, together with something of its economic status at the time of settlement. The ninety-five other inhabitants, in 1850, were scattered over several other townships, and seem to have had only minor connections with this group.

The present writer was long of the opinion that many, if not most, of these people came into Michigan on one of the two branches of the Underground Railroad which met within Cass County, one coming from the neighborhood of Cincinnati, the other from southern Illinois.²⁰ From here fugitives were sent on to Flowerfield and Schoolcraft on their way to Canada. It has been thought that not less than fifteen hundred passed this way. Dr. Nathan Thomas of Schoolcraft estimated that he had helped at least a thousand on their way to freedom.²¹

Some, no doubt, thought themselves safe from capture when they

²⁰Mathews, *History of Cass County*, 109. The writer is also much indebted to an unpublished paper, "The History of the Underground Railroad in Cass County," prepared by Mrs. Rena (White) Upson, of Dowagiac, while a student at Western Michigan University.

²¹This information is taken from Mathews, *History of Cass County*, 110. However, the papers of Dr. Thomas, now in the Michigan Historical Collections at Ann Arbor, are silent on this subject.

had come as far as Michigan, and chose to remain here for a time. One settlement of fugitives, known as "Ramptown," was located a mile or so south of Bonine's Corners, in Penn Township, some survivors of which are known to persons still living.²²

One family of five, recently escaped from Bourbon County, Kentucky, felt safe enough to settle down in a cabin on the farm of Josiah Osborn, one of the Quaker leaders of Calvin. This family became the object of an intensive search in the summer of 1847, which was carried on in an intensive way by a large group of slave-owners. About the first of August this family was seized, together with four other fugitives found on the nearby farm of William East. Before the cavalcade could start for Kentucky, however, it was surrounded by a crowd of irate citizens and forced to go to the county seat. There it was delayed by such a confusing combination of legal and extralegal measures, that the Negroes were rescued and smuggled off to Canada.²³ This raid, together with the famous Crosswhite Affair at Marshall (which was carried out by the same group of Kentuckians), caused such a tremendous stir that it is credited with being partly responsible for the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.²⁴

These events must have caused considerable panic among the other fugitives living in Cass County at the time, and no doubt some resumed their flight toward Canada. It is sometimes thought, on the other hand, that the willingness of their white neighbors to defend them induced others to take their place.²⁵ It is clear, also, that the migration of free Negroes from Ohio continued at an accelerated rate for several years thereafter.²⁶

The assessment rolls for 1846—the year before the raid—show that five persons who can be definitely identified as belonging to the colored colony already owned land in Calvin Township. One of these was Willis Brown, already mentioned as one of the first to

²²Statement of Edgar Probst, Judge of Probate, Cass County, to the writer, September, 1958.

²³Mathews, *History of Cass County*, 110-15.

²⁴The Crosswhite Raid is detailed in the *Marshall Evening Chronicle*, January 26, 1947.

²⁵Glover, *A Twentieth Century History of Cass County*, 291.

²⁶Frank U. Quillin, *The Color Line in Ohio* (Ann Arbor, 1913), describes the social and political disabilities of Negroes in Ohio at this time, which drove many to seek homes elsewhere.

arrive. All in all, these five men owned three hundred twenty acres of land, valued at about two dollars an acre, and they paid a total land tax of \$5.91. No other township in the county is known to furnish a similar example of Negro ownership of land at so early a date.

The rolls of the following year indicate that the Calvin colony had nearly doubled in size. Seven colored residents had then acquired title to 680 acres, while nonresidents in the same category held 360 acres more. By the spring of 1849 the colony had increased considerably, nineteen resident and three nonresident Negro owners being taxed on a total of 1646 acres. By this time, also, three individuals had purchased a total of 212 acres just over the line in Porter Township. A year later—the year of the federal census—twenty-six colored persons owned 1687 acres in Calvin, eight held 476 acres of farm land in Porter, while five others had purchased village lots in Williamsville.

Where did these people come from if, as it seems, many of them did not come in on the Underground Railroad? A study of the census returns throws much light on the subject, even if one discounts for the possibility that some of the statements given by the adults might be inaccurate, especially as eighty-five of the adults were classed as being "illiterate" in this very record. There might, also, have been a tendency to falsify the report in some instances, in an effort to claim birth in free territory for their children if not for themselves. On the other hand many of these claims, made in 1850, are supported by similar statements made ten years later,²⁷ by accounts in the county histories,²⁸ and by earlier records found in Ohio.

Of the fifty-six families in the Calvin colony in 1850, three indicated former homes of several years' standing in Indiana, and three in Illinois. At least twenty-three such families claimed residence in Ohio for some years prior to their migration to Michigan. A careful study of the birthplaces assigned to the children of these twenty-nine families shows the following claims of residence in one or another free state: twenty years or more, two families; fifteen to

²⁷Eighth Census of the United States, Michigan, volume 4.

²⁸Glover, *A Twentieth Century History of Cass County*, 291, names many of the families which came from Logan County, supporting the census records here cited.

twenty years, seven families; ten to fourteen years, eight families; five to nine years, seven families; one to four years, five families.

Of 152 children included in the same families in 1850, slave-state birth is declared for forty; for the remaining 112, birth in free states is stated as follows: Illinois, twelve; Indiana, eight; Ohio, seventy-three; Michigan, nineteen. Of those born in Michigan, all but two were five years old or less, which constitutes one of my strongest reasons for concluding that very few, if any, Negro families settled permanently in Cass County before 1845.

The birthplaces of the adults in the same families, however, show a very different pattern. Only fifteen out of 134 claimed birth in a free state, and not a single one of them mentioned Michigan as the state of nativity. In the free states, four were from Illinois, five from Indiana, and six from Ohio. Of the slave states, forty-three were from Virginia, fifty-nine from North Carolina, two from South Carolina, three from Tennessee, and eleven from Kentucky; a total of 118. Unknown, one.

In respect to the twenty-three families with previous residence in Ohio, it is demonstrable that the heads of at least fifteen of them were living in Logan County, Ohio, in 1840,²⁹ and it seems almost certain that two others were counted as minors living at home in 1840. At least two of these seventeen families were relatively "old residents" of Logan County, since their names appear in the census of 1830 as well.³⁰ Since more than two-thirds of these claim birth in North Carolina, it is suspected that they may have followed Quaker neighbors from North Carolina to Ohio and thence to Michigan, always moving from ten to twenty years later than their friends and benefactors.

Seven other families, of the fifty-six living in the Calvin colony, should be examined as an example of an entirely different type of group migration. Collectively, they constitute the only such instance to come to light in the present study. This involves a group of forty-seven Negroes which arrived in the fall of 1849 from Cabell County, Virginia. Sampson Saunders, a planter of that county (which fronts on the Ohio River in what was to become West

²⁹Sixth Census of the United States (1840), Ohio, volume 15, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

³⁰Fifth Census of the United States (1830), Ohio, volume 38, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Virginia), had died some time before this, and had provided by will that his slaves should be freed and that his executors might expend \$15,000 in establishing homes for them in a free community. They eventually chose Cass County as the site of such a settlement, partly, it is said, because of the cheapness of land and partly because of the friendly and helpful attitude of the white people in the neighborhood.⁸¹ One wonders if the presence of between two and three hundred colored people in the community, already owning land and farming it, was not also an important factor in determining their choice. They purchased on October 12, 1849, four lots of land in Calvin and Porter Townships, on the edge of the Quaker settlement and of the free Negro community. These four lots amounted to 485 acres, in all, and the purchase prices specified in the deeds came to \$3,637—an average price of about \$8.00 per acre, for an average holding of about nine acres per person.⁸²

The deeds in question are made out to groups, supposedly family groups, and included the names of the children as well as those of the adults, adding the phrase, "and to their heirs." The names of both children and adults tally with those enumerated in the census of 1850, taken some eight months later. Almost all of these people bore the name of Saunders, or Sanders, and a number of their descendants still live in the community after more than a century. Not less than forty-seven persons are accounted for in this migration, ranging in age from eighty years down to six months. Only one, the youngest of all, is credited with birth in Michigan, all of the others having been born in Virginia except one, who frankly admitted that she did not know where she was born.

Four other townships had Negro residents in 1850, but they were widely scattered. Even in Howard Township, where seventy-two were enumerated, the family names do not indicate close connections with the Calvin colony.

The Calvin colony continued to grow at a rapid rate. By 1864, when the legal extinction of slavery was imminent, the Negro population of the county had reached a total of 1,534 persons. Calvin Township, alone, then reported 998, which was about two-

⁸¹Mathews, *History of Cass County* (1882), 386.

⁸²Liber L of *Deeds*, 403-7, 466, 515, 625 in the Register of Deeds office, in the Cass County Courthouse at Dowagiac.

thirds of the white population.³³ Perusal of the census returns for 1860, however, has not altered the conclusions expressed herein, namely, that the Underground Railroad brought relatively few permanent residents to the county; that migration of free Negroes from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois began about 1845 after they had lived some years in those states; that nearly two-thirds of the families which came in the first five years were able to purchase land; and that most of them promptly began to send their children to school and to build up a busy and prosperous community on firm and lasting foundations.³⁴

³³*Census and Statistics of the State of Michigan, 1864, 88* (Lansing, 1865).

³⁴This article is a revision of a paper given by Dr. Fields at the annual meeting of the Historical Society of Michigan in East Lansing, in 1958. Editor.

The Kalamazoo Mound: A Letter from Alexander J. Sheldon

Edited by Alexis A. Praus

A HAND BLOWN DRUG BOTTLE, FIFTY-TWO COINS, AND SOME scraps of the *Michigan Telegraph*, one dated June 28, 1850, were not the only finds uncovered by digging into the Kalamazoo Bronson Park Indian Mound during September, 1954.¹ Several items of local historical interest were "unearthed" in attics and elsewhere, and were added to the Kalamazoo Public Museum's collections. Most important, however, was a document that came to light soon after the above bottle was retrieved from the ground. Mr. Carew Sheldon of Buffalo, New York, pointed out to the author that a letter from his great-uncle, Alexander J. Sheldon, who had placed the "time-capsule" in the mound some time after the celebration of July 4, 1850, was in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library. The letter, he said, was addressed to Levi Bishop, president of the Detroit Historical Society, and was about the Kalamazoo mound. It was written in February, 1874. Mrs. Elleine Stones, then head of the Burton Historical Collection, made a copy of the missive available to the author. Its discovery, subsequent to the excavation of the mound, has added new details about the original appearance of the mound and its lack of aboriginal remains and tells what had been put into it over one hundred years ago by the citizens of Kalamazoo.

It also presents a new theory for the use of the mound by the Indians as well as several new facets of Kalamazoo's early history. Sheldon's letter, a holograph of twenty-eight pages, includes a hand-drawn sketch of Bronson Park and its salient features, as he remembered them. Only those portions of Sheldon's letter have been included in this paper that refer to Kalamazoo and the Bronson Park Mound. References to Indians and Indian earthworks elsewhere and his theories regarding mounds and their builders have

¹Alexis A. Praus, "The Past Meets the Future in Kalamazoo," in *Michigan History*, 39:110-16 (March, 1955), gives a complete report of this archaeological project.

been deleted. It was written in response to a series of articles by Henry Little and published by the *Kalamazoo Daily Telegraph*, starting on February 18, 1874.²

Little³ came to Kalamazoo County as a pioneer settler in November, 1831. He led an active life as a farmer, machinist, and writer, and participated in many civic activities. He was evidently an authority on prehistoric Indian earthworks and wrote his newspaper essays at the request of the president of the Detroit Historical Society who had asked for a description of the mounds in the vicinity of Kalamazoo and the traditions concerning them. Little's response to the suggestion to supply a legendary traditional and historical account of the ancient Indian mound at Kalamazoo was broadened to include the earthworks on the west coast and in Mexico, Peru, the Pacific Islands, and the Bible lands. Related subjects like Indian copper mining and graves are also covered in the essays. However, only the Kalamazoo mound is of interest to us at this time.⁴

Henry Little's first article drew the immediate attention of Alexander J. Sheldon, then living in retirement in Buffalo, New York.⁵ He had come to Kalamazoo in 1843 and lived there for ten years, when he returned to his native city to become the first librarian of the Buffalo Grosvenor Library. In his short stay in Kalamazoo he was owner for a while of the *Michigan Telegraph*, village marshal, book-seller, author, volunteer fireman (organizer and chief engineer of the first fire company), builder of plank roads—to mention only a few of his many activities. He is of greatest interest to us as village marshal because it was at this time that he built plank sidewalks, fenced and laid out the village park, planted trees, resurveyed and repaired the streets, and buried the bottle and its contents in the Bronson Park Indian Mound. In responding to Henry Little, Sheldon, in February, 1874, wrote to Levi Bishop:

²Kalamazoo *Daily Telegraph*, February 18, 1874, in Kalamazoo Public Library.

³Henry Little was born in Cambridge, New York, April 29, 1797; and died in Kalamazoo, May 25, 1890.

⁴All quotations from Little's article that follow are from the first issue of the newspaper series. See footnote 2.

⁵Alexander J. Sheldon was born August 12, 1823, in Buffalo, New York, and died there March 23, 1876.

Dr. Sir.

My attention has been called to an article in the *Michigan* (Kalamazoo) *Telegraph* of the 18th inst. purporting to be one of a series addressed to you by Henry Little, Esq. of Kalamazoo relative to the ancient earthworks of Michigan, more especially of that section, and this first article of which related more particularly to the "Indian Mound" in the Public Square of that Village. For the truth of history, I desire to correct a few errors which have doubtless unintentionally appeared in the communication of Littles, [sic] and also give you my opinions in respect to the formation of these earthworks, of and, regarding which, I have spent a great deal of time, and study, and without arriving at any particular conclusions, except such as you will find thrown out in this letter, and which I hope may be of some success to you, and to your Society. But they can be at the best but guess work, and the reasons I give for my opinions are such, because I have deduced them from a process of comparison of these with other works, especially those of New York, and which are numerous in this State south of the Ridge Road of Ontario.

In the introduction to his first newspaper article, Little describes Kalamazoo as he saw it in 1831 with Titus Bronson as its only resident and with two or three cabins in the general neighborhood. He examined the village site and its surrounding area and in the articles published in 1874 wrote that:

. . . At that time there were no fences, nor roads, nor any well-defined paths. This whole plain was carpeted with a bright green grass, much resembling an old meadow.

There were no small shrubs, nor underbrush. Small bur-oak trees, here and there, dotted the landscape, giving it something of the appearance of an old apple orchard; had the bur-oaks been in regular rows, the resemblance would have been more perfect. . . .

The Kalamazoo Mound is situated nearly in the center of this plain which contains several hundreds of acres. We can but admire the correct judgment of the Mound builders, for their selection of this beautiful and inviting place, on which to erect this wonder-inspiring memorial of their genius, of their industry, and cultivated skill. The ground the Mound rests upon is nearly, if not perfectly level in all directions. It is situated one rod north of the north line of South street, and seven and one-half rods east of the east line of Park street. Its dimensions as I ascertained by my careful measurement of the same, on the 17th ult., proved its diameter to be fifty-eight feet at the base, it being the same, when measured in different directions, showing that it was a perfect circle.⁹ Its height was four feet and nine inches. The first two feet at the bottom curved out, or upward slightly, giving it something of the

⁹In 1954, the Mound was found to be 45 feet in diameter and 3.5 feet high.

shape of a large bell. From a point two feet from the ground the next twelve feet upwards, is perfectly straight, and inclines at an angle of sixteen and one-third degrees, or three feet in ten variation from the horizontal line. From a point about twelve feet from the base, it begins very mechanically to round, or curve over to form the top, about twelve feet of which is flat. By the most careful tests that I could apply, I found the inclinations the same on all sides, and great geometrical precision characterized the whole superstructure. There is an elevated ring encircling the whole Mound. That ring is six feet at the base, it rounds over neatly from each side towards the center, which is four inches high. The base of this ring is uniformly two feet from the base of the Mound, while the space between the two is neatly rounded, or hollowed out, to the original surface. The solid contents of the Mound amounts to 3994 cubic feet, or 147 and 35.27 cubic yards⁷

By 1848 the population⁸ of Kalamazoo had increased rapidly and the settlement had grown haphazardly since its first platting in the spring of 1831⁹. The time had come to put it in order. From Sheldon's letter we learn that:

In 1848, at the solicitation of the so called "Improvement Party," of the Citizens of Kalamazoo, I accepted the office of Marshall [sic] of that village, in order to try and see if a series of improvements which were much needed, could not be conceived, and carried out to a successful termination, and which would be of great value to the place.¹⁰ Allow me here to say, that my exertions were crowned with success, and I do not hesitate to remark, that in connection with the Trustees, I inaugurated a series of improvements which in the main have been steadily pressed forward, and which have been the ultimate means of making that Village, the handsomest one in the North-West, if not in the Union.

From Sheldon's same letter we get a vivid description of Bronson Park and its churches, jail, courthouse, academy, and deteriorated mound:

At the time referred to, the Public Square on which the Indian Mound was (is) situated, was one of four pieces of land, donated by the original proprietors of the Village plat for the use of the body politic. As indicated on the rather rough plat which accompanies this sketch, a huge wooden Court House of Vermont style of Architecture occupied

⁷Henry Little in *Kalamazoo Daily Telegraph*, February 18, 1874, in Kalamazoo Public Library.

⁸In 1850 the population of the village was 2,507.

⁹Kalamazoo achieved incorporated village status in 1843.

¹⁰Sheldon was appointed village marshal in April, 1849 [Samuel W. Durant] *History of Kalamazoo County, Michigan*, (Philadelphia, 1880).

the centre of the "Court House Square" which was the north east quarter of the four, and a fine two story brick dwelling which would pass for a private residence, but of which a portion was fitted up with the necessary cells, bolts, bars and other coreilating [sic] modes of reformation which characterize the Modern Jail, occupied the South East Corner of the same square. Directly west of this, and separated by "Church Street"; which was four rods in width, was the "Church Square," of which three fourths was occupied relately [sic] by the Baptists, Episcopalians, and Methodists, each of which sodalities were the happy possessors of miserable wooden attempts called "Meeting Houses," or "Churches," as best suited the feelings of the person who conversed about or owned them. The other quarter was then vacant, but has since been improved by a beautiful building belonging to the Congregationalists. In fact, of all the Public Buildings that the Burr Oak Village could boast, the Jail was the neatest, and best looking; and a stranger would not for a moment have supposed that it was designed for the cribbing, and confining of evil spirits. Directly south of "Court House Square," was what was termed "Academy Square," separated from all the others by a continuation of Church Street southerly, and a four rod street, running east and west, termed Academy Street. South of the "Church Square," and west of the Academy Square was the "Public Square" *par excellence*, which was a level piece of land except as varied by the "Indian Mound," and a number of "Garden Beds."¹¹ with a few of the original oaks partial to the plain, and which in fact were sparsely scattered over the other squares, having been retained by the first settlers, who displayed more than the usual amount of good taste than generally falls to the lot of new villages to have their founders possess. "Academy Square," boasted an uncouth wooden two story building, formerly a "Branch" of the University of Michigan, but which latterly degenerated into a private Academy under the charge of Professor [James A. B.] Stone, the pleasant and genial Post Master now of Kalamazoo.¹² Whether the Academy showed its fruits in dunce heads or wise ones, I cannot vouch for, but the balance of the lot was devoted to culture of some cereal or another, the perquisite of the Principal of the Hall of Academus. The two Eastern squares were the only ones fenced in and there was no obstruction to any one who was desirous of attending "Meeting" or "Church," whilst in and about the "Public Square" the Village Cattle were free commoners, having one or more generally on the "Mound," for some purpose of their own, doubtless as a corps d'observation. Each of the squares were [sic] uniform, being sixteen rods each way and divided as stated before. At the junction of the four

¹¹There was apparently only one, a wheel-shaped garden bed, within the corporate limits of Kalamazoo. It was located on what is now the south-west corner of South and Rose Streets. Wilbert B. Hinsdale, *Archaeological Atlas of Michigan*, 23 (Ann Arbor, 1931)

¹²Stone was postmaster of Kalamazoo from 1870 to 1874.

was a shallow depression in the soil of a foot or more down to the underlying hard pan, which is everywhere peculiar to this section. It was of indefinite extent, nearly oval, and perhaps two or more rods in the longest measurement, but it had been gradually encroached upon by multifarious deposits of rubbish, contributed by the citizens about, who were desirous of freeing themselves of any impedimenta to a clean house. I am thus particular in describing the lay of the ground in order to cover the whole subject, for it was thus I saw these things in 1843 (Jail excepted), and there had been no material alteration at the time I took the charge of the Village. In 1843 the Jail was a small wooden building just east of the Mound, being as at a still later date the residence for the nonce of Jailer and Jailed. The Mound was in a "very bad state of repair," as it had been dug into for relics which did not exist, and one winter the Jailer used it as a depository for his winter potatoes, careless alike whether it were the tomb of a "Prophet, Priest or King," or as has been supposed by some, a mere plastic formation of Nature, a very easy and sweeping method of accounting for unknown works. It was naught but a rude mass of earth, devoid of "geometrical symmetry," nor was there a circle every where equidistant two feet from its base as recited by Mr. Little. Of the Jail, in 1846, a part was torn down, a part moved off, and the balance fired by some fun-loving boys who desired to rid the square of a nuisance, and the house of detention [sic] were the prisoners willing and the Jailer sober, ceased from the face of the Public Square of Kalamazoo.¹¹

Having thus as I believe plainly located the situation of the Mound, and its surroundings of the decade of '40, I now proceed with the account of its repairs and my theory as to its origin and use. I got a special law through the Legislature, empowering the Road Commissioners of the Town [ship] (not Village) to vacate that portion of Church Street between the "Public Square," and the "Branch Square," and by an order of the Trustees of the Village, I fenced in the balance of Church Street between the "Court House Square," and the "Church Square," and so much of Academy Street as divided the whole four, as against teams, thus creating in the heart of the Village a park of no mean pretensions, being six and thirty rods each way in the clear. It is to be regretted, that a few years later, a spirit of selfishness caused the north part of Church and the whole of Academy streets to be reopened to travel thus cutting down the square to an oblong of sixteen by thirty-six rods. I had a large number of finest trees of various kinds planted on the street lines and in the Square and commenced the formation of a series of gravel walks to best suit the convenience of pedestrians. These walks were of the width of two yards and bordered with trees. A few of them are delineated on the map herewith. A lingering attack of fever prevented

¹¹According to [Durant], *History of Kalamazoo County, Michigan* 270, the jail was removed in 1845.

my carrying out my ultimate plans, and the improvements of the Park are about where I left them twenty years ago [,] I am informed.

In the course of these improvements, the dilapidated state of the Mound arrested my attention, and I resolved in making it an ornament instead of an excrescence, [sic] and arrange it so that it could be used as a rostrum at public meetings. One philanthropic individual kindly offered to cart it away if I would allow him "and then we would have a nice level square." I only wonder he did not ask for a remuneration for his labor, but generous as appeared his offer, I was perhaps stupid enough to decline his services. Others proposed it should be used to fill the slough-hole before described. I preferred rather to restore it as near as I could to its pristine condition and having plenty of surface soil from the construction of the walks, and which appeared to be the same as the Mound, I had a sufficient quantity wheeled thereon to cover up all defects and make it what I suppose it is now, but I cannot say, as I have not seen it in one and twenty years.

Much of my time being taken up with attending to improvements in other parts of the village, I requested Dr. [Abijah H.] Howard who lived just south of the Mound, to oversee the labors of the imported Greeks¹⁴ in their tasks of restoration, which he did with much taste, so that when completed, it was an ornament instead of an unsightly excrescence on the surface of the plain.

There is a vast amount of unwritten poetry in Earth work [sic] if properly constructed, and no where does it appear to a better advantage than in the Engineer labors in properly grading the streets and other public places of a new City; bringing all to one symmetrical uniformity. To crown the whole, a forest tree was planted by the worthy Doctor on, in the centre of, the top of the Elevation, in hopes that it would flourish, and cast its shade about, and over the Mound, and thus form a canopy for the presiding officers of any public meeting, which in generations to come might be convened there-about; doubtless carrying out the intentions of the original "Mound Builders". This tree-planting description anticipates its place in the regular history as it was not done until the proper season after the walks were completed and a thorough investigation of the mound was had, which was not completed until the day of President Taylor's demise.¹⁵

When excavated in 1954 and seen in cross section, the mound showed evidence of having been raised approximately eighteen inches. The park in general had been filled to some extent as well.

¹⁴It was customary to refer to Irish laborers as "Greeks" during the last century in New York. Mathew Hale Smith, (Burleigh) *Sunshine and Shadow in New York*, 339 (Hartford, 1868).

¹⁵Zachary Taylor died July 9, 1850.

The tree atop the mound evidently did not flourish since it fails to appear in a photograph of the mound of around 1865-70.

The Bronson Park Mound has been, and still is, considered by most people the burial place of one or more prehistoric Indians. Little gives a detailed account, including Sheldon's excavations of 1850, of the archaeological investigations of the mound. Though he gave no theory for its origin or use, he did not believe that it was a burial site. Little wrote:

The good people at this place, [Kalamazoo] being stimulated by a desire to learn for themselves what was or was not contained in this mound, have several times made an examination of its interior, from the top to the bottom. To obtain a correct knowledge of the results of those examinations at this late period is extremely difficult. I may be excused for saying that the public mind to-day is no better satisfied in regard to these questions than 42 years ago. Some people believe that important discoveries were made, while others do not believe that there was ever anything found. I will now give you the benefit of the best information, relative to the matter, that I could possibly obtain. Mrs. Dr. [Lucinda Hinsdale] Stone, of this place, has informed me that in 1836 or '37, she, in company with a gentleman from New Hampshire, was journeying through this region of country, and that while making a temporary stop at this place, the gentleman told her that he had examined the mound, and showed her one or two flint arrow-heads and two or three stone beads with holes through them, the beads being about the size of a large cherry; but she did not know by what means he obtained them nor whether they were obtained from the interior or exterior of the mound.

But I will revert to this again hereafter. The Hon. H. [Hezekiah] G. Wells, of this place informed me that Dr. [Horace] Starkweather, many years ago, told him that at a certain time some bones were brought to him, professedly from the mound, for the Doctor's inspection, which the Doctor pronounced to be human bones. But the Judge did not know that Dr. Starkweather had any evidence whatever, that the said bones were taken from the mound. No one will, for one moment, doubt the statements of Judge Wells and Dr. Starkweather, but, most surely, we want some proof to convince us that those bones were really taken from the mound. . . .¹⁶

Little had heard that E. Lakin Brown of Schoolcraft had explored the structure, and upon writing to Brown received the following reply:

¹⁶Little in the *Kalamazoo Daily Telegraph*, February 18, 1874.

Schoolcraft, Nov. 23, 1873.

Henry Little, Esq.,

Dear Sir:

In reply to your note of the 21st, I have to say that, in the summer of 1832, Cyrus Lovell and I made some examination of the mound at Kalamazoo; that is, we began an excavation near the top of the mound, and sunk it to near, or quite to a level with the surrounding plain—perhaps not quite. We discovered nothing whatever,—no bones, no pottery, no implements, or relics of any kind. A little charcoal was all. The earth removed, was a dark soil, apparently the surface soil of the adjacent plain. I don't think we derived any impressions, or formed any conclusions on the subject, except that, possibly, had we dug deeper, we might have found some relics; but we were tired of the work, and quit it.

Little continued his article and stated:

It will be remembered that Dr. Starkweather did not come here until May, 1834; and died in 1851. He could not have received the bones from Brown or Sheldon, because neither of them found any, and, moreover, Brown's examination was made two years before the Doctor came here. The little charcoal that Mr. Brown found, might have been mixed with the dirt accidentally, years before the building of the mound.

A few years ago an old squaw came here, who, as she looked about, expressed her regrets that by the building of the town, everything had become so changed that she could not find the old, familiar landmarks. But when she was standing by the Presbyterian Church, happening to look westward, and seeing the mound, she joyfully exclaimed, "O, I know where I am now for there is the mound, on which I used to play when I was a girl. That used to be our attractive playground. There long years ago, I used to meet with many other children of our people, and on the top of that mound, and on its green sides, we spent many happy days." I think it very probable that the Indian children, while thus at play about the mound, lost the beads spoken of above. In the early settlement of this county, we frequently picked up arrow-heads, in our fields, and elsewhere. At the time of finding the beads. (1836) the Indians were still here, not having been removed till 1840. The use of that mound by the Indian children for play or sports of any kind, must have been with the full knowledge and consent of their parents. Now if that was really the burying place of dead Indians, would not those children have known it and their superstitious fear have kept them at a great distance from it? And further, if that mound had been consecrated to their medicine dance, or any other thing connected with their religious rites or worship, would they allow their children to desecrate the sanctity of such a hallowed spot?¹⁷

¹⁷Little, Kalamazoo *Daily Telegraph*, February 18, 1874.

Sheldon, in describing his archaeological investigation of the mound, states that:

Prior to the work of restoration I directed the laborers to drift through the Mound, cutting a trench some four feet wide, by which a large portion of the Mound was disturbed, and which operation was carefully supervised by myself in order to detect any relics that might perchance be therein, and not have them injured or secreted by the laborers. The depth of the drift was down to the underlying Hard Pan which was found in its natural state, never having been broken up. As I anticipated, there were no remains of a forgotten race, nor the rude remains of any of the branch of the Algonquins, who were to our knowledge the first inhabitants of the plain. The contents of the Mound was simply Humus: pure and unadulterated with gravel or other foreign matter; doubtless surface soil, and taken from a spot where it had long been cultivated, as I could not discover any trace of decaying or decayed wood or other cellulose material, the form of which would have been preserved in this soil, which is very adhesive and not liable to disintegrate. I considered if it were a tumulus, that the Hard Pan would have been broken, and the deposit made below the surface as is oft the case, or otherwise, if of a later date than such constructions are supposed to be, that the usual crib work of saplings would have been laid on the surface, and the earth heaped over it. But in neither case were these two ideas carried out, but the soil merely heaped up.

Between installments of Little's Mound essays, Martin Heydenberk, another pioneer citizen of Kalamazoo, and Henry Little exchanged somewhat heated letters via the editor of the *Telegraph*. (An unidentified citizen wrote to the same paper, asking for "proofs" for the contentions being made.)¹⁸ The shape of the tumulus, its authenticity as an ancient formation, taxes, and where the dirt came from of which it was made, were subjects of discussion.¹⁹ In respect to the latter, Heydenberk stated that the dirt came from a depression in Church Street, just south of Academy Street on the north side of the park. Little felt that the earth of the mound did not come from any specific place. He states that:

By the most careful examination, we have failed to discover any place, either near or more remote, which would justify or encourage the belief that the dirt was taken from that particular locality. It is a well known fact here, as well as at all other places in the County, where Mounds exist, that the black soil, or loam, [sic] extends down from 8 to 12 inches, then we come to an extremely hard, tenacious chocolate colored clay,

¹⁸Kalamazoo Daily Telegraph, February 25, 1874.

¹⁹Kalamazoo Daily Telegraph, February 20 and 28; March 12 and 23, 1874.

with small round stones intermixed, which we call hard-pan, requiring a crowbar or pick to break it up, that is usually about one foot thick, then we reach coarse gravel and sand. Now the Mound at this place, which has been carefully examined, as also, five or six others in this region, (some of which have been entirely removed) all show conclusively, that they were composed entirely of surface dirt, there being no small stones, nor clay, nor gravel, nor sand, nor anything to indicate that the materials were obtained from a pit, or sand-bank. With this overwhelming array of evidence before me, I must adopt the conclusion that all the Mounds in this County were, at the time of their construction, on, and surrounded with highly cultivated grounds, and that but a small quantity was taken from any one place, thus preventing all injury to the productiveness of the soil, and effectually obliterate all traces of the whereabouts, from where the dirt was obtained. The material of which these Mounds were [sic] constructed, must have been pure unadulterated dirt, and free from all extraneous matter, because, had grass-sods, or roots, hay, or wood, or stubble been used, even but sparingly, their decay would have produced a manifest derangement of their perfect symmetrical outlines which now exist.²⁰

Sheldon in his letter next tells of his burial of the bottle and how he gathered its contents of coins²¹ and added to them written materials, a telegram, and copies of the village newspapers. Only the coins and some scraps of the *Michigan Telegraph* were found in 1954. He goes on to reveal how the mound got its symmetrical form and added height. He had his own theory of the place of origin of the dirt of which the mound is made.

After satisfying myself and several Gentlemen whom I invited to attend the examination, and most of whom are now residents of Kalamazoo, I took a wide mouth glass bottle or jar, and calling on a number of Merchants and others at their respective places of business, I received quite a number of donations of copper and small silver coins irrespective of their dates, which were placed in the jar, and also a record was placed therein giving the names of the United States, State and Village Officials, and notes of other matters of the day. Just as I was preparing to close the jar, I received a telegram containing the death of President Taylor,²² which was also noted down and placed with the other memoranda.

²⁰Little, *Kalamazoo Daily Telegraph*, February 18, 1874.

²¹The coins were stolen from a display case in the Kalamazoo Public Museum, shortly after they were excavated.

²²Since President Zachary Taylor died on July 9, 1850, the mound must have been excavated on July 4 and the bottle containing the telegram was placed in it some days later. It has been erroneously assumed in the 1955 mound report in *Michigan History* that the bottle was placed in the mound during the celebration of the Fourth of July. See also: [Durant] *History of Kalamazoo County, Michigan*, 270.

Expelling as much as possible by heat, the moisture and air, I firmly, hermetically [sic] sealed the jar and enveloped it in a cere-paper²² heavily coated with tar, and deposited it in a box containing about a bushel of wood-ashes, and poured tar plentifully about it when thus deposited. I am of the belief that one or more of the last issues of the *Kalamazoo Gazette* and *Michigan Telegraph*, the two Village papers were likewise deposited in the jar, but on that point my memory is treacherous. This box of ashes with its jar, was deposited on the Hard Pan and the excavation immediately filled up. Generations to come, in all probability the jar will be exhumed by some other prying officials, and the lover of numismatics will have a singular collection of coins to gladden his eyes if naught else remains, but unless disturbed by an internal convulsion, I have reason to believe that the entire contents of the jar will be in a good state of preservation. Then it will be a matter of wonder how such a barbarous race as inhabited the Kalamazoo plain in the Nineteenth Century could have advanced so far as to use coins, "current money of the Merchant", and left no other tokens of civilization than a rude, frangible amphorae with unintelligible manuscripts and attempts at the art preservative of all! Especially unintelligible if an attempt is made to elucidate the mystery of the Mound by an examination of the chirography of the writer.

The elevated ring spoken of by Mr. Little is but a part of the projected improvements, and like the other gravel walks was six feet wide, rounding to the centre to give a water shed of a few inches and in this case was two feet from the mound at all points, connecting at the south with a walk running around the inside of the fence, and on the north with another walk which extended up to a main diagonal one crossing the Park from North East to the South West so the Mound could be reached without trespassing on the sward. Explorations hereafter may bring to light pieces of brick, and gravel stones as the gravel walks were in process of construction at the time, and it would not be at all strange, if some such things had got mingled with the surface mould that I had wheeled onto the Mound, and which in amount was I judge near one third of the present cubical contents of the same.²³ It is a pity to dispel an illusion of the kind, such as has been held respecting this simple structure, but for the truth of history, I must in this case enact the part of the Gaberlunzie in the *Antiquary*,²⁴ or the Cottager that sold Mr. Pickwick his door-step bearing the monogram of "Bil Stumps x his mark".²⁵ I suppose the authorities of the Village

²² Wax paper.

²³None of this material was found in excavated portion of the mound in 1954.

²⁴This refers to the daft Edie Ochiltree in the Third of Sir Walter Scott's *Waverly Novels, The Antiquary*.

²⁵X BILST UM PSHI S.M. ARK

have neglected the walks, and they have become grass grown, and if Mr. Little had disturbed the surface of the ring he would have found that unlike the "Garden Beds," of pure soil, this was a ring of gravel. The "geometrical precision" of the Mound and the equi distance of the Ring from it, is solely owing to the care and good taste of Dr. Howard before alluded to, who took great pride in having the Park put into proper shape. Instead of the work of an unknown race, of whom naught is discernible to the Antiquarian but such remains, this work in a great part is due to the skill of civilized man. My conclusions are, that there has never been anything deposited in or under this Mound, prior to 1850, and if any beads or arrow heads, or other trivial articles have been found on it, or in it, they were such as are the concomitants of every Indian Village." Articles lost in play or the hunt, and perhaps buried a little by the prior excavators. I have never heard of any osseous remains being found there, and I am confident if there had been, I should have known of them. Dr. Starkweather, and myself, oft conversed about such things being well acquainted, as well as on other primal matters of that section, and I cannot remember of his ever making the slightest allusion to any bones or other foreign matter being exhumed. And had there been a few bones, so few that the discoverer was fain to call on an expert, a medical authority to determine to what order the remains belonged, I would ask what became of the rest of the skeleton especially the teeth the most incorruptible of all of the human frame? And, considering it a point well taken in Mr. Little's letter, if it had been dedicated to the dead, more likely to a renowned warrior, the Indian Children would not have been allowed to disport on its elevation, but would have kept far from it with most pious care. The veneration shown by the Indians, the Eastern ones especially, to their dead, is a "stumbling block, a rack of offense", to those who like us, vaunt ourselves on our high state of civilization and are taught by our "Book," to "tenderly care" for the remains of those who have passed before. Having thus shown what the Mound really is, the next point to be considered is, "Where did the material come from that first formed it". I must unhesitatingly say that to the existence of the Mound, we owe the slough-hole or excavation at the junction of the squares. The material to form the one, would about fill the latter, and if so used would render the square what the person desired who gratuitously offered to remove the Mound ere it derived its regular form from the loving care of Dr. Howard. There is better reason for believing this to be the cause of the depression than that the "Steeple of Tenterden

⁷A banded slate birdstone is said to have come from the mound and that it was found by Nathaniel Balch in the early 1830's. Earl C. Townsend, Jr., *Birdstones of The North American Indian*, 171-73 (Indianapolis, 1959).

Church caused the Goodwin Sands,"¹⁸ for there appears to be no other place from which the same amount of this peculiar soil was taken. The original depth of the pit was doubtless only to the Hard-Pan and it is questionable if the builders of the Mound had tools strong enough to excavate this Hard Pan and allow them to arrive at the underlying gravel and clean lake sand. The early settlers for some reason unknown to me, have always designated this excavation as the spot, from whence [came] the earth of the Mound, and it was considered rank heresy to doubt it. To be sure there is nothing but guess-work for this tradition, but the reasons for it are so plain that until a better place can be found I am fain to believe it. Here is a pit, there a mound. The one will about fill the other. The earth of the Mound is analogous to all that about the pit, and there is no other place to be found from whence the soil has been removed, and if when taken from here it was not used for the mound, where was it placed, and for what purpose? These surmises and queries at once flash across the mind on even a cursory examination of the place. The Hard Pan retained the water from the melting of snows or rains, until evaporated, showing that it was not an excavation for any practical purpose or it might easily have been drained or by disturbing the Hard Pan allowed it all to leach away below. Were there other pits like unto it in the plain, and had the Buffalo ever been known to roam in that section, I might lay it to the wallowing of those animals as is their wont in the summer, and such a place on the Illinois Prairies would at once be suggestive of a "Buffalo Wallow."¹⁹

The next point is, "for what was the Mound constructed"? This at once opens a vast field of knowledge and surmise, but I shall state what I consider it was for and my reasons therefor. As for the date there is but little to be said and that but surmise. I unhesitatingly say again that it was simply a "Speaking Mound" or Rostrum not so very uncommon among the Indians of the later days. The delvers amid tumuli of America, seem as a general thing to have passed by this point unheedingly, and ascribe all the Earth-works either for purposes of defense, observation, sacrifice or burial. . . . This erection could not have been for any of the four purposes conjointly referred to above as we find no connection

¹⁸Goodwin Sands are a line of shoals at the entrance to the Strait of Dover from the North Sea, about six miles from the Kent Coast of England. According to tradition, they are the remnant of an island which submerged when funds devoted to its protection were diverted to build a steeple for the church of Tenterden. As a result, a flood took place in 1099 and gave rise to the saying that the Tenterden steeple was the cause of the Goodwin Sands. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11 edition (Cambridge, England, 1910). (See Goodwin Sands and Tenterden).

¹⁹Buffalo wallows, sometimes called fairy-rings, were circular depressions found on the prairies inhabited by the buffalo. In the heat of summer the buffalo rolled in wet areas to cover themselves with mud as a protection from mosquitos and spear-grass seed. Ernest Thompson Seton, *Life Histories of North American Animals*, 1:285-86 (New York, 1909).

with other works so [that] it could be used for warlike purposes, and the absence of animal or carbonaceous remains forbid that it was used for sacrifice or for sepulture. From olden days this plain was a gathering place, but it is impossible to determine who inhabited it or frequented it until the last century. During the Indian wars succeeding the Revolution, and that of 1812 with our kinsmen, this valley was the great gathering place of Indians. Some even pretend to trace back to the time of the Pontiac War, that in the quiet of this plain the savage forged the weapons of death and sometimes lighted the funeral pyre of savage torment. An old tree in the South west part of the Village (Axtell Place) on one of the fingers of the Portage [creek] was pointed out as the tree of torture, and the scoriae, cinder, and other remains of a Smithy show that at one time not far remote some artizan [sic] was located there.⁸⁰ A short distance down the [Kalamazoo] river on its East bank, near to the old fording place a clearing of several acres bore the title of the "Indian Gardens," and it was presumed that they were located so as not easily to be seen for protection of the women and children in the absence of the Warriors.⁸¹ These matters are not very pertinent to the "Mound," and may be shown more fully in another communication, but are introduced here to show that different races, at different times, have occupied the plain. Another set of "Garden Beds," occupied the greater part of the Kalamazoo plain and doubtless are of the same age as the Mound, whilst the ones first referred to are of a very late date. The Archaeologist must be very careful in his investigations or he will be extremely apt to confound the works of the various races and times. . . . The size, height, and flatness of the top of this mound would indicate that it was merely the rostrum for the speakers at the Council fire, while the commonalty, the vulgar herd, were spread out on the plain below. On the authority of an Indian Chief [.] or a *soi distant* [.] one who lived with his band not long since near Paw Paw in Van Buren County, I repeat that the Mound was as before stated. Pe-pe-yaw, always said that it was simply built for the orators at Councils, or rather he had always been so informed that such was the case.⁸² He never stated the fact on his own authority but relied on the traditionary annals of his tribe for his statement, and he knew that it was used for that purpose by the Indians of his day, and had been told that prior to that time that that use was made of it. He vouched no tribe as to its construction, but stated that it was there when the present tribe

⁸⁰This forge has generally been thought to be located on Portage Creek, in Portage Township on a former Axtell farm. This letter, and evidence since discovered, now places it within the city limits of Kalamazoo.

⁸¹This was the location of the trading post in the opening years of the nineteenth century. It was no doubt located near an Indian settlement. These are not garden beds as referred to in footnote 11.

⁸²For further information about Pe-pe-yaw (Pe-pe-yah), see *Michigan Historical Collections*, 14:276-78 (Lansing, 1890).

of Indians came, and it had always been understood to be used in Council Fire conventions. Whether his tale was but an old traditionary one, or derived immediately by his predecessors from the former actual makers, users, and owners, it is hard to say, as it is very difficult to get at the truth of any historical event from the Indians, if more than a generation elapses. They do not, or will not discriminate between hearsay or fact, and I have learned not to believe in, or put any faith in any Indian tradition, unless confirmed by some good authority. Again I produce the statement of another person, some what more advanced in such matters than old Pe-pe-yaw; namely one Peter Cotay²⁸ (Chippewa for length) a singular half-breed of French Lower Canadian—and either Ottawa or Ojibewa [sic] (certainly of Alonquin [sic] descent. Peter is well versed in all Indian matters of his generation, and speaks fluently several Indian languages as well as his mongrel French, and better English. I think he now lives at Pent Water [sic], though I have been informed that lately he has talked of going back to his old farm in Allegan County on the banks of Lake Che-be-sink,²⁹ lately Griswold³⁰ Mission. Peter was with Genl Cass when in 1820, he penetrated to Leech and Cass Lakes, and interpreted in part at the Green Bay Convention of that (I think) year. He has no faith in ascribing these works to the present Indians or their direct ancestors, for the good reason that they were as now are, to lazy to construct such, neither could he tell who did make them, nor was he curious enough to frame a theory as to who did make them, or when, or for what purpose. He has always understood that the Kalamazoo Mound was for Council purposes, the same as the Paw Paw Chieftain. This is all the direct testimony I have been able to collect in regard to the Mound now in debate, and I am fain to arrive at the conclusion, that it was built by a tribe of Indians long before the Ottawas came here, perhaps and doubtless the same ones who tilled the soil, leaving the form of the beds in the tenacious soil which has thus retained them for generations. . . .

Peace and quiet have again descended over the Kalamazoo Bron-

²⁸This may be Peter Cota of Elbridge Township, Oceana County, in whose home government payments were made to the Ottawa in 1859. *Muskegon Chronicle*, February 11, 1937.

²⁹The Indian name for Selkirk Lake has been verified by Selkirk Sprague, Ottawa Indian still living at the mission site. He pronounces it as "Chim-bis-sink" and says it means "Big Lake". No mention of the lake has been found otherwise than with its present name of Selkirk Lake.

³⁰The Griswold mission to the Ottawas was the only missionary effort of the Episcopal church in Michigan. It was supported by government funds as provided in the 1836 treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians. The Rev. James Selkirk, father-in-law of Alexander Sheldon took charge of the mission in 1839 and operated it until its abandonment some forty years later. Its northwest corner was less than one-half mile southeast of Bradley. Franklin Campbell Smith, *The Diocese of Western Michigan, A History*, 665 ff (Grand Rapids, 1948).

son Park Indian Mound. At least until another generation seeks out its contents and replaces them, we hope, with others. One problem of local significance still hovers over the mound. Did Abraham Lincoln, on August 27, 1856, speak from some other part of Bronson Park or from a platform built over the Indian Mound?

How People Came to Mackinac

Helen M. Martin

WATERS COVERED THE LAND except the high mountain where Manabozo dwelled with the spirits who were restless. So he sent the raven to find land. But the raven returned and, exhausted, died at Manabozo's feet. Then he sent the otter who swam far and wide but found no land. Then Manabozo called the beaver. Down swam the beaver to the bottom of the sea and returned with his paws full of mud. Manabozo praised the beaver, dried the mud in his palm, dropped his sweat upon it, and blew it over the waters. Slowly the waters subsided and land appeared and the beaver was a totem.¹

Over the creatures of the Earth, Manabozo placed Michabou, the Great Hare who ruled all the curious creatures—some with four legs, some with twenty; some with two legs on their backs and they flew through the air; some with one leg on their back, two legs on their sides, and one leg at the end of their spine, and they swam through the waters.

Michabou had a wife as curious as he was and they had many children, but when her thousandth child stirred within her, she had a dream, a dream of wonder: This child would be like no other. This child would be strong and sturdy, with two legs to stand on. This child would rule all others but he must have land to stand on. She told the dream to Michabou who was worried, troubled, until he thought of the feat of Manabozo. Then to him he called the turtle, bade him bring the shining sands from the bottom of the waters. In his mouth he brought the sand grains, placed them in the palm of Michabou, the Great Hare. Dried they were, the sand grains, with a drop of sweat upon them. Blown they were over the limpid waters where they settled and they gathered to an island, Mackina-wa. And to reward him Michabou placed the turtle on top the island, there to dream forever of the paradise awaiting.

¹Proper names are all Algonquin.

And when, after forty seasons, her time was on her, the wife of Michabou the Great Hare brought forth her child of wonder. Strong he was, and sturdy, with two legs planted firmly on the island. Kind he was, and gentle, as he ruled the curious creatures. He was Man, and they named him Atoacan, Man, Father of all others.

Through the forest wandered Atoacan, learned the voice of every creature, learned the secrets of the flowers, learned the music of the nightwind. Taught was he by Michabou to use the sinews, weave the nets and snare the whitefish, peel the bark and make a wigwam, tap the maple for its sugar, until Michabou saw that Atoacan, Man, was wiser than his father and retreated to the heavens, there to watch and guard his Man-child.

As Atoacan grew to manhood he was troubled in his longings. And placing clay upon his forehead cried, "Oh Michabou, my father, I am sad. I hear the murmurs of the forest, the singing of the westwind. I know the secrets of every creature living, the beauty of the flowers, of waving ferns and grasses. I have whitefish in my wier net. I have berries in my larder. But oh, my father, I have none to share them. Am I, Man, alone among all creatures?" Then Michabou sought the starlight, searched the heavens 'til he found her, Atahensic. Then he made a rope of sinews, sinews of the bear, strong threads from the basswood, and let the maiden down to the waiting arms of Atoacan. And to each other they were pleasing. Tall trees bowed before them, entwined their topmost branches, waited for the bindweed and the grapevine to weave them close together. Thus they made a tepee, a home for the parents of all others. But the northwind was jealous, killed the leaves, bared the branches, and the snows filled in the tepee. Then the spirits of the Island built of stone another tepee within the branches. Built it strong for Atoacan and Atahensic, warm and strong against the northwind. Built it high upon the Island, and the Black Robes called it Sugarloaf. Then they made a pathway, made a portal for the people bringing tribute to Atoacan and 'tis called Arched Rock.

Two children were born to Atoacan and Atahensic. They married and built their tepee far from their parents and they had a thousand children. But the guarding Michabou saw they were

not many, saw the forest closing on them, saw the nuts and berries wasted, saw they could not clear the water, saw the whitefish were so crowded they grew small, weak, would soon perish. So once again Michabou descended, called Atoacan and his grandsons, told them to kill one of every animal, burn its skin and bury the carcass with Man's blood upon it and after four days remove the cover. This they did and on the fourth day found an infant. Thus came all men. The earth was peopled. Those descending from the Beaver are industrious, those from the Fox are sly and tricky. All men have the characters of the animal from which they descended.

At last Michabou returned to heaven and never since has left it. A gentle people, the Mackinakas, came to live upon the island, came to guard the tepee and the archway, came to guard the brooding Turtle. They made little gardens on the island, tapped the maple for its sugar, caught the whitefish and the sturgeon, made baskets of the basswood, traded with their friendly neighbors, the Ottawas on Manitoulin. But the jealous Iroquois overpowered the Mackinakas, killed all but two who found refuge on Manitoulin, living with the Ottawas.

Then the Island was made sacred, the Isle of Happy Spirits. There they came for their feasting when in war they were victorious, when the hunt had been successful, when the fish had filled their larders. There they came for the rituals when the young braves entered manhood, and for the days of fasting that prepared the maids for wifehood. There they came in sorrow with the bodies of the chieftains to leave them with the spirits, guards of the Sacred Island.

The French respected the veneration of the Indians for their island, and the Black Robes gained adherents when they built a sacred mission on the island, later moving it to St. Ignace. In 1780, Captain Patrick Sinclair, realizing he could not defend the fort of Mackinac on the mainland, and having no veneration for the island, tore it down and moved fort, garrison, and traders' houses over the ice to Mackinac Island and erected Fort George in 1781. After the close of the Revolutionary War, the British garrison moved to Drummond Island; the fort was renamed Fort Holmes for the gallant American officer who was killed in an attempt to take Fort George; and Mackinac Island became the headquarters of

the American fur trade until 1834. Then it became a western mecca for travelers. In 1875, the fort, no longer needed, was abandoned and for twenty years the Island was a national park. In 1895, Mackinac Island was ceded to Michigan to be kept forever as a park, a place of recreation, a mecca for the tourist.

Thus the people came to Mackinac.

The Michigan Historical Commission in 1959-60

The Michigan Historical Commission is organized by function into administrative, editorial, archival, and museum divisions. The staff of the Historical Commission during the fiscal year consisted of: Lewis Beeson, executive secretary; Vernon Beal, archivist; George May, research archivist; Helen Everett, publicist; Geneva Kebler, archives executive; Dorothy Barnard, museum executive; June Keep, office manager; Thelma Joseph, stenographer; Stella Rossow, stenographer; Elizabeth Rademacher, general clerk; Aleta Johnson, stenographer; JoAnn Sokal, stenographer (part time); Ralph Lovejoy, trades-helper.

While this small staff organizationally is assigned to one or the other of the four divisions, this does not mean that the activities of the staff are confined within the limits of those divisions. The scope of the work done by the Historical Commission is larger than that shown by its organizational structure. For instance, one of the Historical Commission's major interests in recent years has been the registration and marking of historic sites. In the past year this work has been done by the research archivist and not by a historic sites specialist as in former years.

Other functions performed by the Historical Commission that do not show up when its organizational structure is considered are: Munson Michigan History Fund activities, cooperation with state and local historical societies, the marking of centennial farms, its public informational services, and the like.

One of the basic activities of the Historical Commission is publication. During the year 1959-60, four issues of the quarterly, *Michigan History*, were published. Each of the four issues during that year contained an article on some phase of the Civil War, the centennial of which begins in 1961. Other topics dealt with in the magazine were: "The 1913 Revolt of the Michigan Copper Miners"; "Chase S. Osborn's 1910 Primary Election Campaign"; "Senator Arthur Hendrick Vandenberg"; "The Scholarship of Lewis Cass"; "Bancroft

and the Bank of Michigan"; "Albion College Celebrates its 125th Anniversary"; and "The Kalamazoo Case," the far-reaching Supreme Court decision that settled the question of the right of school districts to support high schools throughout the state. The final two installments of the John M. Gordon journal appeared in the September and December, 1959 issues of the magazine.

A new series of articles on special topics relating to Michigan history, intended for publication later in pamphlet form, was begun in the December, 1959 issue. In pamphlet form these topical discussions are intended for high school use and are being published through the John M. Munson Michigan History Fund. The first three pamphlets to appear in this series are: "Michigan's White Pine Era, 1840-1900" by Rolland H. Maybee; "Michigan Soldiers in the Civil War" by Frederick D. Williams; and "Conservation of Michigan's Natural Resources" by Eugene T. Petersen.

Much of the time of the Historical Commission is spent upon the Munson Michigan History Fund affairs. The intent of the fund, broadly speaking, is to provide teachers and students of the state with more Michigan history materials. In addition to inaugurating the pamphlet series mentioned above, the Commission published in October, 1959, the fifth filmstrip, "Michigan Highways from Indian Trails to Expressways." This filmstrip, like the others, is accompanied by a descriptive manual of thirty-four pages.

Under the general editorship of Dr. Wynand Wichers, work continued on the four-volume history of education, begun in 1958. The deadline for the receipt of the manuscripts in this history of education in Michigan series is October, 1961.

Although the Legislature did not appropriate money for the marking of historic sites, the Historical Commission was able to continue the program on a limited scale through private support. Official state and local historical markers completed during the year include markers to Albion College, to the birthplace of the famous college song, "Sweetheart of Sigma Chi", and the well known hymn, "Old Rugged Cross", in Albion; to the First Baptist and Seventh-Day Adventist churches in Battle Creek; to the Lincoln Pioneer Cemetery in Kalamazoo; to the village of Franklin; to Norrie Park in Ironwood; to the Territorial Road in Paw Paw; to the Walker Tavern in Cambridge Junction; and to the world's largest limestone quarry at

the port of Calcite near Rogers City. The public acceptance of the Commission's historical marking program is gratifying.

The Historical Commission through its research archivist, Dr. George May, arranged a Great Lakes Historic Sites Conference on Mackinac Island. Public officials charged with the operation of such programs were present from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the province of Ontario, as well as representatives from the Michigan Historical Commission, the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, the Michigan Department of Conservation, and other local agencies responsible for historic sites programs in Michigan. In a related area, Dr. May conferred with historical society officials of the metropolitan Detroit area and with officials of the Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission, at which time an exchange of ideas took place as to the role of historic sites in planning for new recreational facilities in that region.

In cooperation with the Burton Historical Collection, the Wayne State University Archives, the Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan, Michigan State Library, and the Michigan State University Museum, the Historical Commission has practically completed the compilation of a bibliography of printed materials on Michigan in the Civil War. This joint effort involved much time and research by the Commission's research archivist.

Through the initiative of one of the commissioners, Dr. Willis F. Dunbar, a conference of officials from the leading research collections and libraries in the state was held at Michigan State University on May 12. The discussion revolved around the collecting programs of the various agencies, and ways in which unnecessary duplication of effort or competition could be prevented. As a result of this conference, a questionnaire was prepared and sent to all the major collections of Michigan history in our state, in an effort to elicit specific information which could be incorporated into a directory of such institutions.

Work on another bibliographical project continued during the year. This is the compilation of a list of all masters' theses and doctoral dissertations relating to some phase of Michigan's history. Over six hundred titles have been collected. When all sources of

information have been examined and a complete list of titles obtained, the Commission hopes that this valuable research aid can be published.

Of equal value to scholarship when published will be the numerous finding aids prepared by the Archives of the Historical Commission. These narrative inventories provide detailed information about the provenance, scope, quantity, and relation to other records of the various record groups treated. They serve a dual purpose, as a finding aid and as a means of establishing control for various administrative purposes over the records in the Archives. A total of thirty-eight typewritten inventories are now available for use at the Archives. Unfortunately, they are not available elsewhere because the limited appropriation to the Commission has prevented their publication.

During the year 1959-60 the Commission's archives received record groups amounting to 241 cubic feet. They include correspondence, documents, policy, and work papers, together with cartographic and photographic records. They cover Michigan history from 1797 to 1959.

Photographic assets of the Archives have steadily increased. These include motion film reels, original black and white glossy prints, color transparencies, film and glass plate negatives, and several types of early photographic art. A total of 4,559 photographic items were added to the Commission's archives at no cost except that of typing and mailing a letter of request. Gifts of pictorial material have been received from representatives of Michigan industry, private collectors, and photographers. Outstanding photographs relate to bee culture, Lansing business and industry (about 1915), pioneer colored women, and personalities in the Civil War. In one gift alone from Mr. Edwin P. Brown of Lansing, the Commission received scrapbooks of pictorial material and approximately two thousand photographs showing transportation on the Great Lakes. This collection represents a life-long interest of the donor's father, the late Edwin T. Brown, lockkeeper and marine historian at Sault Ste Marie.

Queries about Michigan history and related subjects are directed to the Archives each day by personal visit, telephone, and mail. Graduate students, historians, government officials, and teachers continue to be the most frequent source of queries. School students

and teachers were the largest single group who requested help during the past fiscal year. The Commission responded with 5,028 packets of informational leaflets, and replied to hundreds of letters of inquiry. Researchers preparing theses to meet requirements for advanced degrees were the next largest single group who examined primary resources in the Archives, received reproduction services, and were guided to materials available in other historical collections.

During 1959-60, the Historical Commission issued certificates and markers to one hundred forty-six centennial farmers. The total number of centennial farms in Michigan as of January 1, 1960, was 1,357. The centennial farm markers given to the owners of centennial farms are provided by The Detroit Edison Company and The Consumers Power Company.

There was a marked increase in attendance at the State Historical Museum during the year, especially in off-the-street and family groups, and the latter noticeably increased the Sunday afternoon attendance. The number of school groups and scout troops visiting the museum equaled those of previous years. The estimated attendance for the State Historical Museum and the Commission's exhibit in the capitol rotunda is nearly eighty thousand for the year 1959-60.

A total of 225 museum items were given to the museum by fifty-two individual donors during the year.

The Commission's policy of loaning museum items to other historical museums in the state, so that they may improve their presentation of Michigan's history, continued in effect. In 1959-60 continuing loans were in effect with the Detroit Historical Museum, the Marquette Historical Museum, the Chippewa County Historical Society, Michigan State University Museum, Mackinac Island State Park Commission, and the Michigan National Guard. Numerous temporary loans were made to museums, organizations, and individuals.

During the year, new exhibits in the cases in the rotunda of the capitol were completed with the exception of one case. This space is reserved for the telling of the story of "Women in the Wars." A panel display was set up in the capitol rotunda for Michigan Week, and other panels and material were prepared for loans to schools and other organizations during that period. A special panel which

will depict the story of Michigan in the Civil War was planned and prepared for placement in the capitol rotunda. A new hall case was designed and installed in the main hall of the State Historical Museum. As in previous years, the Commission's museum staff co-operated with groups, merchants, teachers, and other qualified individuals by acting in an advisory capacity, and assisting when requested in historical programs. Several meetings of special groups were held in the museum during the year.

During the year the State Historical Museum was operated by a staff of three, the position of museum director being vacant until the appointment of Mr. Solan Weeks to the position effective July 1, 1960. Mr. Weeks came to the Historical Commission from the Detroit Historical Museum, having served there as curator of industrial history and television coordinator.

The appropriations to and expenditures of the Historical Commission for 1959-60 follow:

ITEM	APPROPRIATION	EXPENDITURE
Unclassified salaries	\$16,150.	\$ 9,500.
Classified salaries	67,818.	67,687.
Unallotted 1 per cent	678.	678.
Contractual Services, Supplies and Materials	16,333.	16,243.
	<hr/> \$100,979.	<hr/> \$94,108.

Inasmuch as the Historical Commission did not have a museum director during this fiscal year the \$6650. allotted for the salary reverted to the general fund. This accounts for all but \$221. of the difference between the appropriation to the commission and its expenditure.

In 1959-60 the Commission met eleven times: at St. Ignace, Iron Mountain, Albion, Ann Arbor, Detroit, and Lansing. The Commission was composed of Mr. Chester W. Ellison, Lansing, president; Mr. Prentiss M. Brown, St. Ignace, vice-president; Dr. Lewis G. Vander Velde, Ann Arbor; Dr. Willis F. Dunbar, Kalamazoo; Mr. Willard C. Wichers, Holland; Mrs. Donald E. Adams, Drayton Plains; and Governor G. Mennen Williams, ex officio.

WWJ — Pioneer in Broadcasting

Cynthia Boyes Young

NO SCIENTIFIC INVENTION DURING THE FIRST HALF of the twentieth century, except perhaps the automobile, made a more immediate and direct impact on American society than that of radio broadcasting. It is to Detroit's credit as a dynamic and progressive city, that here both radio and the automobile were first made available to the American people on a large scale.

The subsequent results of automobile mass production are readily apparent to all Americans today, but the many implications of radio broadcasting are perhaps not so well known. Programs of an educational and cultural nature have carried the finest music, drama, and public lectures into the most remote sections of our country. Radio has also become important in our national life in such varied manifestations as the promotion of social solidarity, the apprehension of criminals, relief of suffering and distress, the dissemination of accurate news, entertainment of the people, encouragement of interest in public affairs, and the development of skills, vocations and habits.¹

It appears that these tremendous possibilities for radio were partially foreseen by James E. Scripps, founder of the *Detroit News*. As early as 1901 he listened to the story of a young inventor, Thomas E. Clark, and witnessed his demonstration of wireless communication through the air. Operating from the top of the Banner Laundry Company at 73-75 Michigan Avenue (opposite the present site of the Book-Cadillac Hotel), Clark sent a message to Scripps who was waiting two blocks away in the Chamber of Commerce Building at State and Griswold. So excited was Scripps over the success of the demonstration that he gave Clark a check for \$1,000 with which to continue his radio experiments and told him:

I think you have a good idea there and I want you to have every opportunity to do what you can with it. I don't care whether I ever see the money again. It is my contribution toward helping a little idea become a big, worthwhile fact.²

¹Dwight L. Dumond, *America In Our Time*, 45 (New York, 1947).

²Hershall Hart, *The Detroit News*, August 20, 1930.

During the next twenty years many technical improvements were made in wireless transmission. Through the efforts of men like Clark,³ Lee DeForest, and others, the way was paved for wider use of wireless telephony, and in 1920 the people of Detroit were invited to participate in the first experiment in regularly-scheduled radio broadcasting.

The actual beginnings of the Detroit *News* radio station, later to be known as WWJ, were not recorded at the time, and the story can only be partially pieced together from the reminiscences of radio pioneers.

There seems to be no question, however, that the enthusiasm of James Scripps about the potentialities of radio was passed on to his son, William E., and grandsons, William J. and James E. Scripps II. Both young men were ardent radio amateurs. It is quite probable that they were partly responsible for convincing their father, William E. Scripps (owner of the Detroit *News*) to install a transmitter in the *News* building⁴.

In a speech given by Dr. DeForest at WWJ's tenth anniversary celebration, he recalls that about 1917 he and Clarence Thompson⁵ approached William E. Scripps with the suggestion that the Detroit *News* should purchase and install a radio transmitter because there were so many enthusiastic amateur listeners. DeForest and Thompson had been promoting this idea among newspaper owners all over the west and south, but had met with no interest until they talked with Scripps.⁶

The fact that no action was taken immediately was probably due to the fact that the United States was on the verge of entering World War I. Strict regulations prohibited any use of radio except for military or commercial purposes.

The recollection of Thomas E. Clark, who maintained a close

³Thomas E. Clark continued his experiments and went on to develop ship to shore wireless communication on the Great Lakes. He later formed the Thomas E. Clark Laboratories, which carried on experimental work and manufactured special wireless apparatus for the United States government. He holds over ninety patents in wireless communication and train control.

⁴Personal interview with Edwin G. Boyes, engineer with WWJ since May, 1922.

⁵Thompson was the president of Radio News and Music, Inc., contractors for radio installation and agents for the DeForest Wireless Apparatus Company.

⁶Detroit *News*, August 21, 1931.

friendship with the Scripps family, is that in about 1919, William E. Scripps talked with him about the matter of purchasing a transmitter. Clark was invited to a meeting of the *Detroit News* board of directors to present the idea and explain the principles of radio transmission. Though Clark was given an icy reception by the board, Scripps was undaunted and proceeded to send Clark to New York to purchase a transmitter. However, he was unsuccessful in obtaining one and the *Detroit News* later made its own transaction.⁷ It was at this point, apparently, that the *News* again made contact with the DeForest Radio Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Though the actual sequence of events leading to the decision to purchase the transmitter are obscure, it seems probable that all of the foregoing were factors influencing William E. Scripps. By 1920 he had agreed to the idea of experimenting with radio broadcasting, thus making the *Detroit News* the first newspaper in the world to install a radio broadcasting station.⁸

The original apparatus obtained by the *Detroit News* in the summer of 1920 and installed in a corner of the sports department, consisted of a DeForest Type OT-10 transmitter, similar to those DeForest had been selling to the navy since 1914. The panel mounted two oscillators and two modulator tubes using a grid modulation circuit.⁹ It was operated at a wave length of two hundred meters and had a power rating of twenty watts. The power supply was derived from a 150 watt, 500 volt, d.c. generator driven by a one-fourth h.p. motor.¹⁰ Enthusiastic amateur operators who belonged to a group called the Detroit Radio Association put in many hours of time at the new transmitter as volunteer operators.

According to correspondence¹¹ dated May 28, 1920, between the Radio News and Music, Incorporated and the *Detroit News*, the DeForest transmitter was rented to the *News* for the first experimental broadcasting. Arrangements were made through Radio News and Music, Incorporated, whose Detroit representative, Michael D.

⁷Tape-recorded interview of Thomas E. Clark made by Edwin G. Boyes, April 19, 1953, in Boyes' files.

⁸Radio staff of the *Detroit News*, WWJ-*The Detroit News*, 7 (Detroit, 1922).

⁹Reprint of speech by Dr. Lee DeForest, *Detroit News*, August 21, 1930.

¹⁰*Detroit News*, August 20, 1930.

¹¹*Detroit News* files.

Lyons, installed the equipment. Lyons was a radio amateur himself and was secretary of the Detroit Radio Association.¹²

The broadcast range of this first outfit was limited and under the best conditions was not more than one hundred miles. It was estimated that there were about three hundred operators receiving in the area covered, and one hundred privately-owned receiving sets in Wayne County. These radio amateurs were among approximately twenty thousand in the entire country. Their apparatus, usually one and two tube regenerative circuits, were used only to communicate with each other.¹³

Though the *News* transmission set was in place and ready for operation on August 20, 1920, no public announcement of it was made until a ten-day series of experimental transmission of opera recordings had been conducted. When these proved satisfactory it was announced that the August 31 primary election returns would be broadcast.¹⁴

The anticipated birth of newscasting was announced in a page 1 story in the *Detroit News* on August 31, 1920:

The *Detroit News* tonight will announce the results, as they may be received, of the State, Congressional, and County primaries over southeastern Michigan, using as a medium, its newly completed wireless telephone. . . . So far as is known here, this is the first time in the history of radio development that a newspaper will use the radiophone in the transmission of news. . . . Every wireless operator¹⁵ in Michigan, Ohio, and Ontario is invited to open up his receiver and participate in the enterprise. Every community that houses an operator is fortunate; and every man, woman, and child invited by an operator to sit in and listen to tonight's demonstration will be specially favored, for they are participating in an event that will be in a sense, epochal.

A large box in bold face type on page 1 excitedly called to the attention of amateur operators the plans for the evening:

¹²Correspondence in the *Detroit News* files dated June 27, 1921, requests the DeForest Radio Telephone and Telegraph Company to cancel the *Detroit News* contract for rental of the equipment as of July 31. However, it would appear that the management later decided to purchase the transmitter, as it was subsequently owned by WWJ and enclosed in glass to preserve it as a historic item. On December 7, 1959, the transmitter was presented to the Detroit Historical Museum to be added to its extensive collection of early radio equipment.

¹³*Detroit News*, August 20, 1930.

¹⁴Radio Staff of the *Detroit News*, WWJ-*The Detroit News*, 7.

¹⁵Reference made to "amateur operators."

RADIO OPERATORS! ATTENTION! Here is the necessary data by use of which you may listen in tonight and get the election returns and hear a concert sent out by the Detroit News Radiophone: FOR LISTENING: Use wave length of 200 meters. FOR CALLING THE NEWS TO REPORT RESULTS: Use call 8MK. TRANSMITTING BEGINS 8 O'CLOCK TONIGHT. MISCELLANEOUS NEWS and music will be transmitted from 8 until 9 o'clock that operators may adjust instruments. Election bulletins begin at 9 o'clock and continue on the hour and half hour until midnight. WRITE LETTERS to Radiophone Department The Detroit News telling if you received messages and music and give all details that will tend to improve this service.¹⁸

The success of the venture and recognition of its significance were dramatically reported in the *News* the following day:

The sending of election returns by The Detroit News radiophone Tuesday night was fraught with romance and must go down in the history of man's conquest of the elements as a gigantic step in his progress. In the four hours that the apparatus . . . was hissing and whirring its message into space, few realized that a dream and prediction had come true. The news of the world was being given forth through this invisible trumpet to the waiting crowds in the unseen market place.¹⁷

So the story began. From that date on, the *News* offered uninterrupted service to an increasing audience, constantly enlarging and elaborating the programs.¹⁸

In the first week of broadcasting, baseball news, bulletins of foreign affairs, and campaign proceedings went out over the air. The results of the Dempsey-Miske fight were broadcast within thirty seconds of the time the bulletin was received by wire.¹⁹

The first music concerts were confined entirely to phonograph music and were broadcast twice daily, at 11:30 A.M. and 7:00 P.M.²⁰ On September 4, 1920, a party was held at the Charles F. Hammond home at 700 Parker, Detroit, where Charles, Jr. and a dozen of his

¹⁸Detroit News, August 31, 1920.

¹⁹Detroit News, September 1, 1920.

²⁰The controversy over whether WWJ or station KDKA in Pittsburgh was the first station to broadcast is explained by the fact that WWJ, then 8MK, a noncommercial station, broadcast the first published regularly-scheduled program on August 31, 1920, but KDKA received its commercial license and began broadcasts as a commercial station before WWJ. See "WWJ: Seniority over Hoary KDKA," *Time*, 28:23 (August 31, 1936).

²¹Robert Kelly and Edwin G. Boyes, Summary of Important Events in the History of WWJ-The Detroit News. Appendix. Typewritten manuscript. 1940. In personal files of Edwin G. Boyes.

²²Radio Staff of the Detroit News, *WWJ-The Detroit News*, 8.

young friends danced to music from the *Detroit News Radiophone*.²¹ Reported in the society column of the *Detroit News*, this event was considered to be the local beginning of the social aspect of wireless.²²

Soon responses began coming in by mail reporting that the concerts were being successfully received: "Your concert was heard last night and greatly enjoyed"; "We could hear the *News Radiophone* as plain as if it was in the next room."²³

By the end of the first week of programs, ships in the Detroit River equipped with commercial wireless and amateurs in Canada and nearby towns were reporting good reception. The captain of the steamer, *W. A. Bradley*, reported through the Marconi station at Ecorse, just west of Detroit, that the ship had received music of a *News* concert as she steamed along in the middle of Lake St. Clair. This report impressed the public as even more remarkable than sending music over land.²⁴

Among other significant events of that fall was a meeting of the Detroit radio operators held at the *News* building, at which the members thanked the *News* for its radio service and agreed to cease sending after 10:00 P.M. for the benefit of news bulletin broadcasting.²⁵

Hoping to present live music as well as phonograph, the *News* requested Charles Mixer of the Edison laboratories to play his violin so that the quality of studio production could be compared with that of phonograph records. A few days later, on September 22, Miss Mabel Norton Ayers gave the first vocal concert on the air.²⁶

When the scores of the World Series games in Brooklyn were announced on the radio in October, and the returns of the Harding-Cox election were broadcast in November, the traditionally sceptical man in the street was greatly impressed.²⁷ What had at first been regarded as a fad by the public was now being recognized as a great new medium of communication. The attitude toward radio seemed to change overnight. Interest grew and dealers reported a big demand

²¹*Detroit News*, August 20, 1930.

²²Radio Staff of the *Detroit News*, *WWJ-The Detroit News*, 9.

²³George W. Stark, "We Old Timers," the *Detroit News*, August 19, 1941.

²⁴Stark, "We Old Timers," in the *Detroit News*, August 19, 1941.

²⁵Kelly and Boyes, Summary of Important Events in the History of WWJ-The *Detroit News*. Appendix. Typewritten manuscript. 1940. In Boyes' files.

²⁶Kelly and Boyes, Summary of Important Events in the History of WWJ-The *Detroit News*. Appendix. Typewritten manuscript. 1940. In Boyes' files.

²⁷Radio Staff of the *Detroit News*, *WWJ-The Detroit News*, 9.

for radio material. By November, the *News* was so overwhelmed with requests for information that a radio department column was included in the Sunday edition of the *News*.²⁸ The column offered information to all beginners about "radiophone" and the methods of achieving best reception. Schematic diagrams were printed in the paper and the *News* offered further benefits to its listeners in the forms of assistance by the technical staff of the station, improved and extended transmission, and a greater variety of programs.

Because electrical shops couldn't supply enough headphones to meet the rush of new radio listeners, there grew up quite an epidemic of pilfering of telephone receivers—mostly from apartment house phones. So enthusiastic were these beginners that many scrupulously honest souls indulged in this petty thievery. With a single wire antenna strung in the room or attic, a coil on an oatmeal box, a piece of silicon or galena with a cat whisker, and a telephone receiver, the would-be radio operator was able to participate in the amazing magic of voices and music on the air.²⁹

While listeners grew more and more excited, not all of the executives of the *Detroit News* showed the same enthusiasm. Opinions ranged from coolness, to the attitude that the transmitter was an expensive plaything, to indifference to its future.

Financially, the radio station was not considered a loss to the *Detroit News* in spite of the expense incurred in its operation. Although no radio advertising was sold, the station was popular enough to be considered a good-will medium, and hence of value to the newspaper circulation. Therefore, despite the general indifference and opposition of some members of the board of directors, *Detroit News* owner William E. Scripps, and general manager Herward S. Scott continued to support the radio experiment and saw that it was perpetuated.³⁰

The *Detroit News* radiophone welcomed in the New Year 1921 with a concert by the famous baritone and *Detroit* attorney, Louis Colombo. The story in the *Detroit News* on January 1, 1921, read:

²⁸Kelly and Boyes, Summary of Important Events in the History of WWJ-The *Detroit News*. Appendix. Typewritten manuscript. 1940. In Boyes' files.

²⁹Frank E. Hill, Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, tape recorded interview with Edwin G. Boyes, May 23, 1951. Typed transcript in Edwin G. Boyes' files.

³⁰Personal interview with Edwin G. Boyes.

For the first time as far as is known, a human voice singing a New Year's melody of cheer went out across uncounted miles over the invisible ether that is the medium of wireless telephone.³¹

The year 1921 brought further improvements in the station's equipment and program offerings. Among the most astonishing events was the enjoyment of a radio concert by those in attendance at a banquet at the Masonic Temple. Reception was achieved by means of a three-wire aerial strung along the ceiling.³²

So ambitious were the plans of the young station that the original transmitting set was soon found to be inadequate and was partially rebuilt. In June, 1921, a two-wire antenna, 290 feet long, was stretched between the Detroit News building and the Fort Shelby Hotel. Soon after, reports began to arrive from such distant points as Belleville, Illinois; and Atlanta, Georgia; that News broadcasts were being received. At the same time, the News receiving set was picking up wireless telegraph messages from such far distant places as Germany, Rome, and Hawaii, and the United States Navy station at Bordeaux, France.³³ At this time two young engineers, Frederick Lathrup and Walter Hoffman, were operating the transmitting equipment.³⁴

The program schedule was now expanded to include more musicians and theatrical talent from Detroit playhouses. Members of the Detroit News staff: George W. Stark, Robert Kelly, William Holliday, and Al Weeks undertook to book talent for radio appearances.³⁵ Ernest R. Ball, composer of "Mother Machree," "Love Me and the World is Mine", and other songs, was appearing with the Keith circuit on the stage of the Temple Theater in 1921, and was one of the earliest professional entertainers over the News radio. George W. Stark, present Detroit historiographer and veteran member of the Detroit News editorial staff, recalled Ball's performance:

The microphone was almost more than he could bear. At the conclusion of "Mother Machree" he looked at it rather helplessly; then touched his thumb to his nose and wriggled his fingers, the familiar gesture of the

³¹Radio staff of the Detroit News, *WWJ-The Detroit News*, 9.

³²Radio Staff of the Detroit News, *WWJ-The Detroit News*, 10.

³³Radio Staff of the Detroit News, *WWJ-The Detroit News*, 10.

³⁴Personal interview with Edwin G. Boyes.

³⁵Personal interview with George W. Stark.

frustrated and the final answer to all things. It was masterful pantomime. But he sang an encore.⁸⁶

The *Detroit News* of December 18, 1921, had this to say about Ball's reaction to radio broadcasting:

The receiver is not a very appreciative instrument, at least in appearance. One can't tell from the looks of the microphone whether his number is liked or not. This was quite baffling to Ernie Ball. He sang one or two of his most popular numbers, heard no applause and finally looked at the microphone in a manner that registered blind rage. And then he stuck out his tongue at the instrument, which seemed to relieve his feelings a lot, for he swung immediately into another selection.

Some of the other stage stars who appeared before the *News* microphone in these early years reacted in curious ways. For instance, the noted monologist, Frank Tinney, believed himself to be the victim of a hoax and feared that he was actually talking for the sole entertainment of the practical jokers in the private room where the microphone was located. It was not until he heard music relayed back by telephone from Windsor, Ontario, that he was convinced the microphone carried his voice beyond the four walls.⁸⁷

Embarrassment or a kind of stage fright used to grip many veteran performers the first time they stood before a microphone. In some extreme cases, the old theater trick of slapping a performer in the face or sticking him with a pin had to be employed to shock away fright.⁸⁸

For the value of the experience, stage and musical personalities readily appeared on the *News* station with no thought of compensation. To many it was a matter of prestige to have appeared before a microphone and they were eager for the opportunity.⁸⁹

The program expansion in 1921 was also marked by the appearance of the well-known Finzel's orchestra of Detroit and other musical groups, who furnished dance music by radio. The *News*' second Christmas concert on December 24, 1921, was a "peace program" including songs by carollers, and addresses by Governor Alex J. Groesbeck, Mayor James Couzens, and the Rt. Rev. Fr. John P. Mc-

⁸⁶Stark, "We Old Timers," *Detroit News*, August 20, 1941.

⁸⁷Radio Staff of the *Detroit News*, *WWJ-The Detroit News*, 17.

⁸⁸Hill, Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, tape recorded interview with Edwin G. Boyes, May 23, 1951. Typed transcript in Boyes' files.

⁸⁹Personal interview with George W. Stark.

Nichols, president of the University of Detroit. Another feature of the program was the broadcasting of music played by the chimes in the steeple of the Fort Street Presbyterian Church across the street from the *News* building.⁴⁰

On October 13, 1921, The *Detroit News* received its first commercial broadcasting license and was assigned the call letters, WBL.⁴¹ Later correspondence, on February 15, 1922, and May 15, 1922, between the local Federal radio inspector, Samuel W. Edwards and Warren Booth, assistant business manager of the *Detroit News*, indicates that the license was issued for short periods and renewed.⁴²

By 1922, the radio department had outgrown its original quarters and was moved to the fourth floor of the *News* building where it occupied 3,003 square feet of floor space, divided into an editorial and executive office, transmitter and operating room and generator workshop. A small fourth floor auditorium was added to two small producing studios. The staff during 1922 grew to consist of a supervising editor (Charles E. Kelley), two reporters (G. Marshall Witchell and Elton M. Plant), a secretary (Genevieve Champagne), a program director (William F. Holliday), an assistant program director and announcer (E. Lloyd "Ty" Tyson), a chief engineer (Howard E. Campbell), and three engineer operators (Edwin G. Boyes, Walter R. Hoffman and Keith Bernand).⁴³

On January 28, 1922, the *Detroit News* installed its new Type 1A-500 watt Western Electric transmitter. Since none of the local men were familiar with this equipment, Howard E. Campbell, an engineer from the Bell laboratory, was brought from New York to supervise and train the staff. Edwin G. Boyes replaced Fred Lathrop who had been asked by William E. Scripps to act as supervising engineer of a concern started by Scripps (The Scripps Motor Company) to manufacture nonregenerative receiving sets which would

⁴⁰Radio Staff of the *Detroit News*, *WWJ-The Detroit News*, 12.

⁴¹"Birthdays: WWJ's Sixteenth Anniversary Reopens Old Feud," *Newsweek*, 7:9 (August 29, 1936).

⁴²Letter in *Detroit News* file: "Attached hereto is Provisional Limited Commercial Broadcasting Radio Station License No. 239 issued to your company for a period of three months for the purpose of broadcasting music and like matter only on a wave length of 360 meters. The official call WBL is again assigned to your station."

⁴³Radio Staff of the *Detroit News*, *WWJ-The Detroit News*, 19.

offer better quality reception than the many types of regenerative sets being used by the public.⁴⁴

With their new equipment the engineering staff worked enthusiastically toward even larger quarters. As Boyes recalls it:

Like all other radio personnel in those days, we believed that in order to accoustically treat a room we had to hang many drapes. At first we went overboard in this and made our studios too dead. But little by little we learned more about acoustics, reverberation, absorption, reflection, and such things, as required in various sized studios.

The transmitter and the engineers were in a separate room adjacent to the studio and cables were used to run in microphone lines and signal system. The microphone used in 1922 was the double button carbon mike produced by Western Electric. Boyes describes this as looking like a squirrel cage with the microphone mounted inside, and recalls that its large, businesslike appearance made it a symbol of radio for many years.

A push-button signaling system devised by the engineers gave visual instructions like, "stand-by," "one minute," "on the air," "closer to the mike." Boyes remembers that occasionally it was augmented by someone running back and forth between control room and studio with more detailed instructions on technique. He notes, however, that even a crude signaling system was adequate then because broadcasting was not yet concerned with accurate mike and talent placements and the split-second timing so essential in radio broadcasting today. Boyes stated also that in those days if you were two or three minutes late getting a program off the air it didn't make too much difference. But there was one important responsibility and that was to protect the audience from something that might be said in the studio if someone neglected to turn off a switch. This required constant alertness on the part of the control engineer.

With new equipment and a larger staff, the *News* began to develop longer and more carefully planned programs and continued to introduce many more "firsts" in radio broadcasting.

On February 10, 1922, The Detroit Symphony Orchestra conducted by Ossip Gabrilowitch, gave the first complete symphony concert

⁴⁴Hill, Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, tape recorded interview with Edwin G. Boyes, May 23, 1951. Typed transcript in Boyes' files.

ever presented by radio.⁴⁵ Another memorable musical occasion was the first performance on May 28, 1922, of the sixteen-piece Detroit News Orchestra. The first radio concert orchestra ever assembled, its members were drawn primarily from the ranks of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra.⁴⁶

Another of the presentation of special events in which the *News* pioneered in 1922 was the broadcast of church services. For the forty days of Lent, leading clergymen of all denominations provided sermons that were presented every evening. During the Easter season, beginning on Palm Sunday, the Easter cantata and the sermon of Warren L. Rogers, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, were heard on a broadcast of the cathedral services. The morning and evening Easter services were broadcast and a regular presentation of cathedral services was continued thereafter.⁴⁷ At the end of the first year, Dean Rogers described the broadcast as "the greatest missionary achievement since the time of Jesus Christ." Other churches without rectors of their own worshipped by radio with St. Paul's. One Presbyterian church in Michigan installed a receiving set and heard the services of St. Paul's while the pastor was on vacation. "These incidents", the Dean said, "are becoming more numerous with the growth of the popular knowledge of radio and with the decline in the prejudice against radio equipment being used for religious purposes."⁴⁸

During 1922, the *News* also offered its readers an impressive and diversified array of stars and programs undreamed of in the earlier days. To name only a few, there were the radio debuts of operatic soprano, Emma Calve; the Shakespearean artists, E. H. Sothern and his wife, Julia Marlowe; the appearance of Will Rogers; the presentation of the University of Michigan and Michigan State University

⁴⁵Kelly and Boyes, Summary of Important Events in the History of WWJ-The Detroit News. Appendix. Typewritten manuscript. 1940. In Boyes' files.

⁴⁶The personnel of the ensemble consisted of Otto E. Krueger, conductor; Maurice Warner, concertmeister; Herman Goldstein, first violin; LeRoy Hancock, first violin; Armand Hebert, second violin; V. P. Coffey, viola and piano; Frederick Broeder, cello; Eugene W. Braunsdorf, bass; Thomas J. Byrne, oboe; R. M. Arey, clarinet; Vincenzo Pezzi, bassoon; Albert Stagliamo, French horn; Edward Clark, French horn; Floyd O'Hara, trumpet; Max Smith, trombone; and Arthur Cooper, xylophone. Radio Staff of the Detroit News, WWJ-The Detroit News, 21.

⁴⁷Radio Staff of the Detroit News, WWJ-The Detroit News, 21.

⁴⁸Sterling Bowen, "Religion by Radio," Detroit News, April 1, 1923.

extension courses; and the baritone voice of Thomas E. Dewey of Owosso, singing with the Detroit News Orchestra.⁴⁹ One of the most notable achievements of the station that year was the broadcast of appeals resulting in locating a ten-year-old boy missing for ten days in Ohio.⁵⁰

The present call letters of the Detroit News station, WWJ, were adopted in March, 1922, replacing the first commercial call letters, WBL. The reason for the change is explained by Edwin Boyes. When the fad was raging to pick up distant stations,⁵¹ people often sent postcards to the transmitting station to inform them that their programs were being received at great distances. WBL was sent hundreds of cards, addressed not only as WBL, but as WGL, WDL and other combinations of letters that sounded the same. Interference on the air waves and noise on the receiving sets made it difficult to hear call letters clearly. Hence, it was decided that letters would have to be chosen that would be more easily recognized through the interference. This need was made known to radio inspector Edwards who in turn requested the commissioner of navigation to assign new call letters to the Detroit News station.⁵²

The station had requested WKL or WWW. However, in a letter from Edwards dated March 6, 1922, they were informed:

You will also note your call has been changed from WBL to WWJ. This is about as good as we could do in the matter of call letters and we hope that you will find them satisfactory.

Competition in the field of radio broadcasting first faced the Detroit News in March, 1922, when it was learned that the Detroit Free Press intended to begin broadcasting as soon as Western Electric delivered to them the same type of radiophone that the Detroit News was using.

The first broadcast by the Detroit Free Press station occurred on May 4, 1922, and included the participation of the Hon. Alex Groes-

⁴⁹In the log book for that evening (July 3, 1922) is a notation by the engineer on duty: "very lousy"; in Detroit News files.

⁵⁰Kelly and Boyes, Summary of Important Events in the History of WWJ-The Detroit News. Appendix. Typewritten manuscript. In Boyes' files.

⁵¹Distance seemed to interest listeners more than quality of reception.

⁵²Samuel W. Edwards to the commissioner of the Bureau of Navigation, February 1, 1922, in the Detroit News file.

beck, Governor of Michigan; Dr. Marion LeRoy Burton, president of the University of Michigan; and Edgar A. Guest, *Detroit Free Press* poet-humorist.⁵³

The *Detroit News* of May 4, 1922, stated their reaction in an editorial:

For the last two years the *Detroit News* has been building up a nationwide service for the people through its radio broadcasting station. This work is just at its beginning and will be continued on a still larger and broader scale despite the handicaps imposed upon Station WWJ, The *Detroit News* Radio Bureau. The handicap consists of a temporary, at least, curtailment of hours now used by WWJ by order of the Department of Commerce.

When the wave of popularity of radio swept the nation during the first two years of *Detroit News* broadcasting the government was unprepared in the way of laws to govern the air. Only one wave length (360 meters) had been allotted by law for broadcasting. Other desirable wave lengths were under the control of the navy department and its regulations did not permit re-issuance to other interests. The only thing the department of commerce could do in the meantime was allot hours of transmission until Congress could proceed by law for another wave length. The editorial continued:

This was the situation when the *Detroit Free Press* decided to break in on the *Detroit News* service and demanded of the government that it too be allotted hours. . . . The *Free Press* frankly stated in its advertising that it preferred to wait until the experimental stage had been passed before getting into it. That is, it preferred to wait until the *News* had done all the pioneering work and had built up a public service which had brought instruction and pleasure to the people, before attempting to interfere with it.⁵⁴

The advent of the *Free Press* radio station was just one local indication of the great impact radio was making all over the nation. The Associated Press saw its enormous potential and recognized a possible

⁵³*Detroit News*, May 4, 1922.

⁵⁴The *Free Press* position was stated as follows: "The sole object of this paper in establishing a broadcasting station is to serve the public in a friendly and neighborly way by endeavoring to meet a large and growing demand for information and entertainment via the wireless. It realizes that in entering the purveying field, it is creating a state of competition locally, but if competition is good in trade, it ought also to be good in the radio field; and the *Free Press* feels that it is helping everybody and is injuring nobody by undertaking its new enterprise. *Detroit Free Press*, May 6, 1922.

rival in the form of news broadcasting. In 1922 it issued a notice to its member papers forbidding them to broadcast by radio telephone or telegraph, any news dispatches received on A. P. wire. A spokesman for the A. P. gave this explanation:

The free distribution of news by wireless telephone broadcasting stations has been giving many newspaper publishers food for thought. At present the instruments for receiving these messages are more or less of a novelty, but what the result on newspapers would be when receiving sets became more popular and in many more homes is what publishers are wondering.⁵⁵

And well they might wonder about radio's future, not only as affecting newspapers, but as it was to affect nearly every aspect of our lives. Through the years to come, WWJ continued to pioneer in all areas of radio broadcasting and to set high standards for quality that have made it a great asset to the *Detroit News* and a credit to the city.

By 1923 there was no longer any doubt that radio broadcasting was not only here to stay, but was growing rapidly. Recognizing this, WWJ moved to further improve the quality of its transmission by purchasing and installing a Western Electric 1-B 500 watt transmitter in May, 1923.⁵⁶ The additional features offered by this instrument enabled the station to maintain greater frequency stability, more effectively suppress harmonics (which might cause interference with other stations), and generally to improve program transmission.⁵⁷

These efforts toward constant technical improvement continued to bring WWJ the plaudits of listeners⁵⁸ and earned it a designation from the National Bureau of Standards as one of the six transmitting stations to serve as frequency standards. The announcement of this honor which appeared on December 1, 1923, in *Radio Service Bulletin*, the official publication of the bureau of navigation, read in part: Measurements of radio station frequencies by the Bureau of Standards show that there are some transmitting stations which maintain a sufficiently constant frequency to serve as frequency standards. . . . Unless

⁵⁵*Editor and Publisher*, 9, February 25, 1922.

⁵⁶*Detroit News*, June 16, 1941.

⁵⁷Personal interview with Edwin G. Boyes.

⁵⁸A letter from a listener in Oregon, one of many quoted in the weekly *Detroit News* column, "WWJ's Family Circle," stated: "You came in very clear and distinct last night. Your modulation was excellent."

special precautions are taken in a transmitting station . . . the frequency is not likely to remain constant, . . . A station which incorporates the best mechanical features in its antenna system and which observes a policy of allowing no tampering with the transmitting circuit may maintain a fairly constant frequency. . . . The six broadcasting stations listed below have attained the goal of varying not more than 2 kilocycles from the assigned frequency as recommended by the second National Radio Conference. WWJ, Detroit, read 19 times, showed a frequency variation of .1 per cent.⁶⁰

Among the popular program offerings of the year 1923 was the broadcast of a talk on the subject, "What is the Matter with the Movies" by movie idol, Rudolph Valentino, who was appearing in a dancing act in Detroit.⁶⁰ A picture of the Sheik, seated before a microphone, appeared in the *Detroit News* above the cut-lines: "Generally he is seen and not heard. Here he's being heard and not seen." However, WWJ poet-broadcaster, Anne Campbell, recalls that Valentino was seen as well as heard by great throngs of people who crowded to the *Detroit News* the day of the broadcast to get a look at the famous star.⁶¹

Two significant events in the development of broadcasting occurred in June, 1923, and both involved WWJ in pioneer undertakings.

Detroit became the first city in the United States to have municipal band concerts by radio in parks when WWJ began broadcasting the music of Herman Schmemman and his thirty-piece concert band which played at the Belle Isle band stand. Four other city parks heard these band concerts through special loud speakers set up by WWJ in cooperation with the department of parks and boulevards. The story in the *Detroit News* announcing this event assured readers:

There is no danger of crowds being unable to hear the music plainly, as tests have shown that even a fly walking across the sounding board produces a thump that would be mistaken for the footfall of a man.⁶²

Of nation-wide interest that year was the expedition to the North Pole of the noted arctic explorer Dr. Donald B. MacMillan. Leaving in June, 1923, MacMillan, for the first time in the history of explora-

⁶⁰United States Department of Commerce, *Radio Service Bulletin*, 13-14 U.S. Bureau of Navigation (Washington, D. C. December 1, 1923).

⁶¹*Detroit News*, February 10, 1923.

⁶²Personal interview with Anne Campbell, *Detroit News* poet.

⁶³*Detroit News*, June 24, 1923.

tion, carried radio equipment with him, and transmitted accounts of his progress. Thirty thousand radio amateurs, members of the American Radio Relay League, and the North American Newspaper Alliance, of which the *Detroit News* was a member, cooperated in the experiment. The major service provided by WWJ was the use of its broadcast transmitter in the sending of news by code to the expedition. Reports from MacMillan were picked up by key amateur stations around the country and relayed to the *Detroit News*.⁶³

During the years of 1924 and 1925, the broadcasting features and technical improvements of the preceding years were further developed and made permanent parts of WWJ's schedule.

The station's policy of providing public service broadcasts was broadened in 1924 to include a series of weekly public lectures known as the Radio School, conducted by WWJ's chief engineer.⁶⁴

In February, 1924, the *Detroit News* reported that the gymnasium would soon be brought into the home via radio:

Beginning Monday at 8:00 A.M. and continuing daily at the same hour, R. [Roy] J. Horton, director of physical education of the Detroit YMCA, will give lessons in the "Daily Dozen" or setting-up exercises to the radio audience. These lessons will be of about 15 minutes' duration.⁶⁵

Another important event of 1924 was the first direct broadcast of the Gold Cup races from the old Detroit Yacht Club. Returns of the races were reported from the judges' barge by direct voice transmission rather than by the method used in 1923 when the first broadcast of the boat races was accomplished through the use of wireless telegraph from the judges' barge to the studio of WWJ. Because no wire facilities were available to the barge in 1923, the reports were received by code, compiled, and then broadcast.⁶⁶

Enthusiasm for sports has always been a characteristic of Detroit and in the 1920's this spirit led Detroiters to flock to Ann Arbor to cheer the University of Michigan Wolverines on the football field. On October 25, 1924, because the Michigan-Wisconsin game at Ferry Field had been sold out far in advance, Coach Fielding H.

⁶³Personal interview with Edwin G. Boyes.

⁶⁴*Detroit News*, February 2, 1924.

⁶⁵*Detroit News*, February 24, 1924.

⁶⁶Personal interview with Edwin G. Boyes.

Yost gave WWJ permission to broadcast the event. Thus, with Ty Tyson at the microphone the first University of Michigan football game was heard over radio. Before the next game the athletic association had received so many requests for tickets because of interest aroused by the broadcast that Yost gave WWJ permission to broadcast all home games.⁶⁷

The following year the station started the New Year 1925 on its way by broadcasting a play by play account of the New Year's Day Leland Stanford—Notre Dame football game in Pasadena, California. By combining broadcasting service with continuous wire service direct from the playing field, the station was able to bring to Detroit homes first hand the game that the *Detroit News* described as being "remarkable" and "full of thrills."⁶⁸

In January, 1925, WWJ abandoned 516.9 meters and began broadcasting on 352.7 meters as assigned to it by the Department of Commerce.⁶⁹

In accordance with its pioneer tradition, WWJ participated in the introduction of network broadcasting in February, 1925, by becoming one of the regular outlets in the chain of stations that was later to become the National Broadcasting Company.⁷⁰ The chain originated as a result of the plan of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company (AT&T) to experiment in long-line broadcasting transmission. Through their manufacturing division, Western Electric Company, AT&T built Station WEAf in New York City. Using the telephone lines of AT&T's engineering division, the Bell Laboratories, WEAf broadcast programs that were carried by a series of affiliated stations in the East and Middle West.

In 1926, AT&T sold WEAf and rented its long-line broadcast

⁶⁷*Detroit News*, August 20, 1950.

⁶⁸*Detroit News*, January 2, 1925.

⁶⁹*Detroit News* correspondence files. WWJ license renewal application dated April 27, 1929.

⁷⁰On the occasion of NBC's 30th anniversary in 1956, WWJ received an Award of Merit plaque in recognition of its accomplishments as one of the original members of the network. Five other stations were also honored for helping to launch the first radio network. They were NBC affiliates, WJAR in Providence, Rhode Island; WTIC in Hartford, Connecticut; WCSH in Portland, Maine; KSD in St. Louis, Missouri; and WDAF in Kansas City, Missouri. The plaque read: "The National Broadcasting Company presents this award of merit to Radio Station WWJ of Detroit, Michigan, in recognition of 30 years of service, broadcasting in the public interest as an affiliate of the National Broadcasting Company." *Detroit News*, December 14, 1956.

facilities to Radio Corporation of America, which in the meantime was operating its own broadcast stations, largest of which was WJZ in Newark, New Jersey. With the combined facilities of WEAJ and its own station, RCA created the National Broadcasting Company.⁷¹ The first network was called the Red Network. Later additional stations covering less populous areas were included in a new network called the Blue Network. The contract between the National Broadcasting Company and WWJ committed WWJ to broadcast a certain number of hours of commercial network programs daily. Since these programs paid WWJ for their time, 1927 marked the first year that WWJ sold time commercially. Besides these required programs, the station could purchase additional sustaining hours from NBC.⁷²

Along with its network affiliation, WWJ increased its service in the broadcast of local, on-the-spot events such as parades, banquet speeches of visiting dignitaries, sports events, and hotel orchestras. Beginning in January, 1925, WWJ started the regular noon-hour feature of Julius Klein's orchestra from the dining room of the Hotel Statler.⁷³ Twice a week, Jean Goldkette's Victor Recording Orchestra⁷⁴ was broadcast from the Graystone ballroom for one hour in the evening.⁷⁵

By March of that year radio had grown so greatly in popularity in Detroit that it became apparent that WWJ would have to cease offering the service of free radio set testing. The announcement of this in the *Detroit News* on March 1 read:

The free testing of receiving sets by the engineers at the *Detroit News* Station WWJ, has been discontinued. The *News'* radio engineering staff will thus be enabled to devote their entire time and energy to the further development of Station WWJ and the expansion of the broadcasting service given the radio public through linking the *News* station with WEAJ.

⁷¹The National Broadcasting Company, *The Story of N. B. C., 1926-1951*. Typewritten manuscript. In music and drama department of Detroit Public Library.

⁷²*Detroit News* files.

⁷³*Detroit News*, January 8, 1925.

⁷⁴The first recording orchestra outside of New York City, *Detroit News*, May 25, 1944.

⁷⁵Goldkette's orchestra, a favorite with Detroiters during the decades of the twenties and thirties included in its ranks such now famous names in jazz as Tommy and Jimmy Dorsey, Bix Beiderbecke, Joe Venuti, Glenn Miller, Artie Shaw, Glenn Gray, and Hoagy Carmichael. *Detroit Times*, May 5, 1953.

The policy of free set testing had been started when WWJ was established and the *News* had the only engineers in the city who were capable of giving advice on receiving sets. However, by 1925, the public's enthusiastic interest in radio had encouraged radio dealers in the city and state to equip themselves to furnish testing service to their customers.

Public interest in radio continued to be stimulated by such programs as the broadcast of the details of Calvin Coolidge's inauguration ceremonies, which WWJ carried as part of a nation-wide loop.⁷⁶

In May, not long after WWJ had joined the National Broadcasting Company, one of the network's most popular musical figures, Wendell Hall, "the red-headed music maker," faced the microphone in the broadcasting studios of the *Detroit News* and delighted his local fans with stories and songs.⁷⁷

Also through the facilities of the newly-formed network, A. Atwater Kent arranged a series of thirty Sunday night recitals which were carried by WWJ.⁷⁸ Before determining to undertake the series, he had received from American Telephone & Telegraph Company figures on potential radio audience (based on number of receiving sets within one hundred miles of the transmitter) that ranked WWJ fifth on the network.⁷⁹

Technological improvements in radio were being made so rapidly and increased services received so eagerly by the public that the *Detroit News* again invested in advanced equipment to improve the quality of its transmission. On June 30, 1925, WWJ purchased its fourth transmitter—a Western Electric 1,000 watt 6-B—which was installed in the fourth floor studios of the *Detroit News*.⁸⁰ About six months later the transmitter was moved to the garage of the *Detroit News* on the corner of Lafayette and Third, and in November, 1926, two new antenna towers were built 265 feet above the street.⁸¹

⁷⁶Robert Kelly and Edwin G. Boyes, Summary of Important Events in the History of WWJ-The *Detroit News*. Typewritten manuscript, 1940. In personal files of Edwin G. Boyes.

⁷⁷*Detroit News*, May 22, 1925.

⁷⁸*Detroit News*, October 24, 1925.

⁷⁹WEAF (New York), 2,000,000 listeners; WEEI (Boston), 1,000,000; WOO (Philadelphia), 900,000; WCAE (Pittsburgh), 750,000; and WWJ (Detroit), 700,000. *Detroit News*, October 24, 1925.

⁸⁰The Western Electric 500 watt 1-B transmitter was sold to the Moody Bible Institute. *Detroit News* files.

⁸¹*Detroit News*, June 16, 1941.

one on the paper warehouse section of the *News* building and the other on the garage. On June 15, 1927, WWJ began the use of the 374.8 meter wave length.⁸²

Though these innovations extended the station's area of coverage and improved the signal somewhat,⁸³ WWJ soon began to face the increasingly complex problem of crowded wave lengths and interference arising from radio's phenomenal growth and the resulting intense competition.

Congress' first attempt to deal with this problem led to the passage of the Radio Act of 1927 and the creation of the Federal Radio Commission which was made responsible for regulating broadcasting.⁸⁴ The Radio Act of 1927, approved on February 23, 1927, was intended to regulate all forms of interstate and foreign radio transmission and communication within the United States, its Territories and possessions; to maintain the control of the United States over all the channels of interstate and foreign radio transmission; and to provide for the use of such channels, but not the ownership thereof, by individuals, firms, or corporations, for limited periods of time, under licenses granted by Federal authority. For the purposes of the act, the United States was divided into five zones (Michigan was in the second zone) and the Federal Radio Commission created,⁸⁵ composed of five commissioners⁸⁶ appointed by the President.

One of the commission's first projects in setting up an improved system of regulation was to prepare new forms for all types of applications for licenses and construction permits. All stations were required to submit new applications for licenses.⁸⁷

Correspondence in the Detroit *News* files concerning the Federal Radio Commission's activities tell of the following series of events. On August 29, 1927, Commissioner Henry A. Bellows of the Federal

⁸²Detroit *News*, June 16, 1941.

⁸³Hill, Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, tape recorded interview with Edwin G. Boyes, May 23, 1951. Typed transcript in Boyes' files.

⁸⁴*Dictionary of American History*. Edited by James Truslow Adams. Second edition, revised, volume 6. (New York, 1951).

⁸⁵Rear Admiral William H. G. Bullard, Judge Eugene O. Sykes, Orestes H. Caldwell, Henry A. Bellows and John F. Dillon.

⁸⁶*The Statutes at Large*, December 1925, to March, 1927. *Radio Act of 1927*, Volume 44, part 2, p. 1162 (69 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D. C., 1927).

⁸⁷Detroit *News* files.

Radio Commission wrote to WWJ recommending an exchange of wave lengths between WWJ (800 k.c.) and WOC of Davenport, Iowa (850 k.c.). The new arrangement was intended to iron out a number of interferences in the Great Lakes region and the East. WWJ replied that they were willing to cooperate with the commission in any way in improving conditions providing their present quality of service was not interfered with. Hence, effective September 15, 1927, WWJ began broadcasting on the 352.7 meter (850 k.c.) band already occupied by three other stations (WNAC, Boston; WRR, Dallas; and WEW, St. Louis). Some interference was experienced from these stations but the situation was ultimately cleared up,⁸⁸ and WWJ remained on the 352.7 meter band until November 11, 1928, when it was moved to its present wave length of 325.9 (920 k.c.). On October 11, 1928, the station put into operation a Piezo electric frequency control unit that would enable it to stay on its assigned frequency more accurately.⁸⁹

Another proposed policy concerned with the future of radio was outlined for the press by Commissioner Henry A. Bellows in the fall of 1927. His plan was that in the future the commission would single out certain national stations for preference in the matter of wave lengths, the selection to be based on power and technical efficiency of operation.⁹⁰ Documentation of subsequent events and their results are not available in *Detroit News* files, but Edwin G. Boyes recalls that because of the high standards it had maintained over the years, WWJ was one of a few stations that was offered a clear channel. He suggests that the decision to turn down the offer may have been made because the *Detroit News* felt it was giving adequate service to its circulation area with its present arrangement, or because the expense of meeting the requirements for a clear channel, i.e., removing the location of the transmitter from the center of population and increasing power, would have meant too great an expenditure.⁹¹ The clear channel was later offered to and accepted by Station WJR in Detroit.

⁸⁸Personal interview with E. G. Boyes.

⁸⁹*Detroit News*, June 16, 1941.

⁹⁰*Detroit News* files.

⁹¹Hill, Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, tape recorded interview with E. G. Boyes, May 23, 1951. Typed transcript in Boyes' files.

While the technological, financial, and legal aspects of broadcasting were being examined, revised and expanded, innovations in programing also continued. On April 20, 1927, the Detroit Tigers opened the baseball season at Navin Field and WWJ announcer, Ty Tyson, was on hand to give the fans at their radios a play by play account of the game direct from the field. This first broadcast of such an event by any Detroit station also introduced the idea, known in present-day sportscast lingo as "pre-game color." The preceding day's *Detroit News* reported:

A microphone for the use of the announcer will be placed in the press stands, and in various other parts of the field there will be concealed other microphones for the pick-up of crowd noises to lend realistic atmosphere to the game as heard by radio listeners in their homes. . . . Mr. Tyson from his vantage point high up over the heads of the audience will point out for listeners the colorful aspects of the scene before the serious work of broadcasting every move of the game begins."⁹³

One small indication of the success of WWJ's attempts to offer the best possible education, entertainment, and service over the air was provided by the visit to the *Detroit News* in March, 1927, of Mrs. Mae Fisher of Pasadena, California. Calling on the household editor, Mrs. Fisher reported that she and her neighbors in Pasadena always awaited with pleasure the "Dinner Menu By Radio" broadcast (which reached California at 6:30 A.M.). "To myself and others in Pasadena," she said, "the Household Editor of the *Detroit News* has become a personal friend with whom we chat each morning."⁹⁴

Several years later, veteran *Detroit News* reporter, Rex G. White, recalled the awe with which he realized in the earlier days the tremendous significance radio would surely have when "a single man could sit beside an inanimate thing and talk and his words could stir a nation, lead a cause, awake a public conscience, thrill a million hearts from Maine to California."⁹⁴

⁹³*Detroit News*, April 4, 1927.

⁹⁴*Detroit News*, March 7, 1927.

⁹⁵*Detroit News*, August 21, 1932.

Michigan News

THE EIGHTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HISTORICAL Society of Michigan was held at Albion on October 7 and 8, 1960, with the Albion Historical Society as hosts. Registration and a coffee hour preceded the Friday morning program with President Roger H. Van Bolt presiding, the topic being "Who is Working for Michigan History on the Local Level?" John Gray, past president of the Greater Lansing Historical Society spoke on what that society is and does; Charles E. Hughes, president of the Albion Historical Society discussed the "Marking of Historic Sites by Local Societies"; Dr. Ethel Williams, editor of *Michigan Heritage*, presented a talk on the "Publications Program of the Kalamazoo Genealogical Society"; and Earl DeLaVergne, president of the Livonia Historical Commission, spoke on the "Historical Societies in the Detroit Metropolitan area."

Following the noon luncheon, Dr. Van Bolt presided at the annual business session and gave his president's report. This was followed by the treasurer's report, given by Roscoe Bonisteel; the architectural committee report in the absence of Professor Emil Lorch was read by Kenyon Boyer; the membership committee report by Henry D. Brown; and the school activities council report by Ellen Hathaway. New trustees elected for three-year terms were: Al Barnes of Traverse City, Earl DeLaVergne of Livonia, Donald Finlayson of Sault Ste Marie, Philip P. Mason of Detroit, and Charles F. Willman of Ontonagon.

The afternoon session considered the question of "Who is Working for Michigan History on the Statewide Level?" Roscoe Bonisteel reported on "Beaver Island Historical Development: What has and can be done"; Representative Andrew Cobb, president of the Michigan Centennial Farm Association, discussed what that association is and does. Floyd L. Haight, chairman of the Civil War Centennial Commission, presented a resume of its program; and David Glick, member of the advisory council of the Marine Historical Society, told of this organization and its functions.

The annual dinner was held at Baldwin Hall, Albion College, with trustee Roscoe Bonisteel, presiding. Following the invocation

by Dr. John W. Tennant of the First Methodist Church; and words of welcome by Dr. Louis W. Norris, president of Albion College; Dr. Lewis Beeson introduced the new president, Marquis E. Shattuck of Detroit; and the new trustees. The annual Burton lecture given by Dr. Frederick D. Williams of Michigan State University on the topic "Studying the American Civil War" was a fitting prelude to the coming observance of the centennial of that conflict.

At the Saturday morning session Jackson Towne of Michigan State University read his paper on "Perry Greeley Holden"; Alan S. Brown of Western Michigan University presented one on "The Election of 1860." Unfortunately Robert Clark of the lands division of the Michigan Conservation Department hardly more than started his paper on "Michigan's Early Land Development" before the time ran out.

Dr. Edmond H. Babbitt of Albion College offered the invocation at the luncheon meeting and Henry D. Brown, director of the Detroit Historical Museum and a native of Albion, talked on "Albion and Its Early History." The Society annual awards were presented by Mr. Van Bolt. The award to the Wayne State University Press cited it for its impressive program of publishing Michigan history and biography and for its distinguished format and variety. Citation awards for contributions to greater study and understanding of Michigan history went to The Ontonagon County Historical Society, the Mead Corporation of Escanaba, the Dowagiac *Daily News*, the Federated Publications, Incorporated, for publishing *This Is Our Michigan*, written by Willard Baird, and to Gordon Webber, New York novelist and former resident of Detroit and Flint, whose novel *What End But Love* is of Michigan and the automobile age.

Michigan Historical Commission certificates of recognition were presented by Dr. Vander Velde to Chester W. Ellison of Lansing for his eighteen years of service as a member of the Michigan Historical Commission and trustee of the Michigan Historical Society; and to Dr. James O. Knauss, retired head of the history department at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo.

The meeting then adjourned to the site of the first log cabin in Albion for the dedication of Michigan Historical Commission marker. A tour of Albion College and local historic sites completed the program.

THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL UPPER PENINSULA HISTORICAL Conference was held August 26, 27, and 28, 1960, at Escanaba under the direction of the Delta County Historical Society and Charles Follo, chairman.

At the luncheon following registration at the Delta Hotel, Mr. Arvid Mustonen, president of the Delta County Historical Society, acted as toastmaster. Mr. A. Theodore Sohlberg, a member of the local society, gave the invocation. Mr. Carl Nelson entertained the group with old sea chanties and accompanied himself on a guitar.

Mr. Frank Bender, Jr., former president of the local society and formerly a student in the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan, and presently a mink farmer, delivered the main address on the history of Delta County. He stated that the first town in the county was reported in 1876. He described the conditions of the early pioneers: how they lived, how they built up industry and business, how they went through depressions; and stated that the operation of sawmills was the most prominent occupation. When farms were started, potatoes, turnips, and carrots were the only items raised.

Eleven historical societies reported on their activities. Dr. Lewis G. Vander Velde, vice-president of the Michigan Historical Commission, reported on the commission's latest project: the preparation of a four-volume history of education through the John M. Munson Michigan History Fund. It is scheduled for completion in 1962.

Mr. Floyd L. Haight, chairman of the Michigan Civil War Centennial Commission, reported on the progress of that group. Dr. Roger H. Van Bolt, president of the Historical Society of Michigan, explained the organization and the relationship of the Society and the Commission.

At the Friday dinner, Mr. John Mitchell presided. Mr. Jean Worth, editor of the Escanaba *Daily Press*, spoke on "The Upper Peninsula is Michigan." Mr. Richard Sonderegger of Northern Michigan College at Marquette spoke on the subject: "Men from the Upper Peninsula in the Civil War." He pointed out that it is difficult to determine just how many men went to the war from the Upper Peninsula because if their parents were living in Ohio, or another state, they would give that state as their home.

A tour of the Delta County Historical Museum, Escanaba's water-

front, iron ore docks, and the Upper Peninsula State Fair with: Mr. Edward Edick as guide was enjoyed on Saturday.

Despite the rain, a tour on Sunday to the Fayette State Park for which arrangements were made by Mr. Glenn Gregg, superintendent of the Upper Peninsula parks system, with luncheon at a nearby church was enjoyed.

THE NINTH ANNUAL MICHIGAN MUSEUMS Conference was held July 15 and 16, 1960, in Mackinaw City and on Mackinac Island. The conference, which was under the chairmanship of Dr. Eugene T. Petersen, director of historical projects for the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, was attended by fifty persons representing some nineteen Michigan historical museums. A tour of Fort Michilimackinac in Mackinaw City was the highlight of the Friday program. For most of the delegates this was their first real opportunity to study firsthand the work that has been accomplished in the straits area in the past several years; and what an exciting experience it was! Everyone was greatly impressed with the authentically reconstructed British barracks building and with the colorful interpretative exhibits that it contained. But perhaps even more intriguing than the reconstruction work, which has already been accomplished, was the archaeological "dig" which was in progress in the western portion of the fort. Through large glass windows visitors could share in the excitement of archaeological discovery. Dr. Moreau S. Maxwell, curator of anthropology at Michigan State University, and supervisor of this study, explained the significance of the findings thus far and also described some of the difficulties which have been encountered, such as finding foundations which overlap one another. He indicated that during the period of the fort's use, over thirty separate structures had been constructed within the fort's stockade. Future plans call for the reconstruction of a majority of them. Unlike the modern interior of the barracks building, all future buildings will contain authentic period furnishings and displays.

Saturday morning the museums conference met in the Grand Hotel on Mackinac Island, and representatives from several museums reported on the activities and services of their institutions during the past year. The shortage of time prevented delegates from hearing a similar report from all nineteen museums.

Following a delicious luncheon at Grand Hotel, the conference adjourned to the main ballroom for a brief program. Due to the illness of Mrs. Carroll Paul, who was to be the principal speaker, Mr. Prentiss M. Brown addressed the group. Afterward the conference group assembled at Fort Mackinac, and Dr. Petersen conducted a tour of the fort exhibits together with the French Chapel, the Beaumont Memorial, and the Biddle House. The conference concluded with a coffee hour at the Agency House, hosted by the Mackinac Island Historical Society.

AT THE MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES of the Historical Society of Michigan on October 6, 1960, the following resolution was adopted:

WHEREAS, The Historical Society of Michigan is dedicated to the task of acquainting the citizens of the state of Michigan with their glorious heritage and significant events of the past, and

WHEREAS, This Society is concerned with the preservation of records and objects relating to the noble men and women who built our state, and

WHEREAS, Through carelessness, indifference and other motives, elements of Michigan's historical heritage are being constantly destroyed, be it

Resolved, That the Historical Society of Michigan join various historical societies, organizations, and individuals throughout the state in urging that no significant structure or site be destroyed until all alternative courses of action have first been carefully considered; and, appeals to all citizens to exert every influence to preserve sites, records, relics, and other evidences determined to be of historical value, to the end that this rich heritage may be utilized for the enjoyment and knowledge of the people of Michigan and its visitors.

DR. IVAN H. WALTON of the University of Michigan, upon reading the articles which appeared in the December, 1958 issue of *Michigan History* on the pronunciation and meaning of the name "Michilimackinac", wrote us as follows:

For about a quarter of a century I have been interested in the names on and about the Great Lakes and in other aspects of the folklore that have developed in the region, especially that from among the men who

sailed the old wind ships which carried the lakes commerce before the advent of the modern steel freighters. I have talked with scores of Great Lakes sailors from one end of the area to the other and my notes contain not a single exception to the sailors' pronunciation of the name of the straits between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan and of their most important island as though both were spelled with the ending "aw." Many nonsailors, especially uninitiated yachtsmen who learn their pronunciation from the printed charts, pronounce the name to rhyme with "lack."

One of the best known sailor songs that came out of the schooner period of the lakes transportation describes the passage of the old "timber drogher *Bigler*," making a trip in late season with a cargo of grain and racing the faster grain carriers. It goes like this:

"On our passage down to Buffalo
From Mil-wau-kee
We made Skillagalee and Wobbleshanks'
The entrance to the Straits;
We might have passed the whole fleet there
If they'd hove-to and wait;
But we drove 'em all before us
The nicest that ever you saw
Clear out into Lake Huron
Through the Straits of Mackinac.

A MODEL OF THE UNITED STATES ARSENAL erected in Dearborn in the 1830's was unveiled at the commandant's quarters of the Dearborn Historical Museum on October 2, 1959.

The completion and dedication of the model marked the end of a year of diligent labor for the members of the museum's Junior Curator Association, and Miss Mary MacDonald, the museum's artist-preparator. The model dedication and reception was attended by the parents of the junior curators, and some fifty persons were on hand to congratulate the boys on their work on the model and their many other achievements in helping along the museum's program of activities.

Some five years ago this voluntary youth group was started and though some of the museum's staff members' time is directed towards supervision and sponsoring the organization, the club has remained essentially a self-governing group of boys aged twelve through sixteen.

¹ Isle au galet and Waugoshance Pt.

A few of the chores they have performed for the museum are: the cleaning of the McFadden-Ross barns, the repair of harness and old wagons, numerous painting jobs, the presentation of movie programs, M-4 Sherman Tank tours, and participation in the city's parades and the museum's special events.

By and large the most important contribution of these boys has been their work on the arsenal model which will be a permanent exhibit installation within the museum. Without their having started the project under the guidance of Robert Gross, who was a museum part-time worker and voluntary sponsor of the boys' group, and is now a naval aviation cadet, the museum would not have this excellent reproduction of the eleven arsenal buildings in miniature.

For the first time, museum visitors will get a clear understanding of the individual buildings that comprised the arsenal—an installation which gave Dearborn's pioneer community its first building boom and its impetus to grow.

Truly one can wonder as to whether a city would have grown here had it not been for the Federal government's erection of this arsenal to serve the states of the old Northwest Territory.

Words of praise were heaped upon the boys and the organization by Floyd Haight, chairman of the city's historical commission; Leonard G. Johnson, chief curator of the museum; and Mary MacDonald, artist-preparator and current sponsor of the group.

George Brueck, club president, received on behalf of the boys a scroll which conveyed the thanks of the commission and the museum staff. It recognized "a level of mature citizenship far beyond their years."

In the days when juvenile delinquency commands the headlines it is well to attempt to balance accounts by recognizing and appreciating the work of youngsters such as those of the Junior Curator Association.

Mrs. FRANCES WOOD of Grand Rapids writes us that the Karl Rienhardt mentioned in the article, "The German Language Press in Michigan," in the September, 1960 issue of *Michigan History*, page 310, line 35, should be Karl Nienhardt. Nienhardt was her grandfather.

Book Reviews and Notes

The Present World of History. A conference on certain problems in historical agency work in the United States. Compiled and edited by James H. Rodabaugh. (Madison, The American Association for State and Local History, 1959. viii, 129 p. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

With the publication of *The Present World of History* another volume on historical agency work has been added to the impressive list of books and pamphlets already issued by the American Association for State and Local History. This volume, edited by James H. Rodabaugh, head of the division of history and science of the Ohio Historical Society, contains the record of six sessions held by the association at Columbus, Ohio, in the autumn of 1957 on certain problems in historical agency work in the United States.

Dr. Rodabaugh, who has served as editor of the Ohio Historical Society since 1944, has done a competent job—a job which consisted of preparing for publication the papers presented at the sessions and the impromptu remarks which followed the papers. He has not, however, provided the reader with editorial comment directed at clarifying the contents of the papers nor has he elaborated on the problems treated.

The conference of the American Association for State and Local History considered a wide range of topics from historical methodology to historiography, from the operation of museum education and exhibit programs to the acquisition policies of presidential libraries. The scope of the conference and the number of contributors to the conference, both necessary if a large group of historical workers with diverse interests are to be attracted, do much to deny a cohesiveness to the volume.

Session one of the conference treated the topic "The Historical Society is an Educational Institution." The panel agreed that it is. At the second session Roy F. Nichols, vice provost and dean of the graduate school, University of Pennsylvania, read a paper entitled "Alice in Wonderland After Eighteen Years." In involved metaphorical language he argued that political history should be reinstated in the study of United States history. For the true cultural history of the United States is its political history. The archivist as administrator of our public records and the political historian as interpreter are together in the better position to discover the meaning of United States history.

The third session considered the acquisition policies of presidential libraries. Most of the discussion centered on the passage of Public Law 373 of the Eighty-fourth Congress, first session. This law provides for the acceptance and maintenance of presidential libraries by the federal government. The principal objection was that an aggressive archivist in

the service of a presidential library with the backing of the United States government might endanger the acquisition of materials by institutions to which these materials more properly belong.

Session four was concerned with the artifact in history. William B. Hesselstine of the University of Wisconsin set the pace with a paper which posed an interesting question. Unfortunately his successors did not touch upon the problem in their presentations. Hesselstine compares the document and the artifact noting that external criticism will disclose many facts about both of them to the historian. In this instance the historian "tells" things to the document or to the artifact. It is only with internal criticism that the document tells things to the historian. The question is how then does the historian apply the tenets of internal criticism to the artifact?

Sessions five and six were largely devoted to historiography. Session five considered significant developments in local history, and session six was a paper presented by Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky. Dr. Clark gave an account of the writings in United States history and employment opportunities in the field of history.

The volume contains fifteen papers, many of high quality. It would be a valuable addition to the study shelves of the archivist, the historian, and the museum worker.

Detroit Historical Museum

JOHN CHAVIS

"Prehistoric Copper Miners on the Shores of Lake Superior" in *Skills' Mining Review*, 48:4-5, 15 (Duluth, Minnesota, January 2, 1960) by Victor F. Lemmer.

One of the most intriguing mysteries of the North American continent concerns the activities of the prehistoric copper miners (also called the Old Copper Indians). Archaeologists and anthropologists have studied these remains for well over a century.

Following considerable research, Victor F. Lemmer has written an excellent summary of their findings up to date, entitled "Prehistoric Copper Miners on the Shores of Lake Superior," which first appeared in *Skills' Mining Review*, January 2, 1960.

Explorers of three centuries ago and also of more recent times have noted many of the thousands of pits which had been dug to extract native copper and attempted to estimate their age. However, it was not until radioactive carbon tests made on wood found in the excavations indicate that the workings date from 3,000 to 4,000 years ago.

Mr. Lemmer's interest in these workings was aroused at the time he was president of the Historical Society of Michigan and read a translation of Johann Georg Kohl's 1857 volume, *Reisen in Nordwesten der*

Vereinigten Staaten (Travels in Northwestern Parts of the United States). Parts of this book pertaining to the Upper Peninsula and the prehistoric copper workings, interpreted by Mrs. Carroll Paul, curator of the Marquette County Historical Society, gave such an accurate description of the Ontonagon area pits that they could be readily located and stone hammers obtained.

Writings of several pioneer and present day archaeologists and explorers then were carefully checked by the author. One of the earliest was made in 1848 by Samuel O. Knapp, agent of the Minesota Mining company. Colonel Charles Whittlesey, famed American professional geologist, made a more intensive study on the subject and wrote a treatise published in 1856 by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Lemmer also quoted from the recent evaluations of three sites: Keweenaw Point, Isle Royale, and Ontonagon given by Dr. George I. Quimby, curator of North American Archaeology and Ethnology at the Chicago Natural History Museum; Dr. Emerson F. Greenman and Dr. James B. Griffin, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan; Prof. Roy W. Dreier, Michigan College of Mining and Technology, Houghton; the late Fred Dustin, and others.

The author, and several more "amateur explorers," as he said, recently visited some of these ancient excavations in the Ontonagon area and obtained a number of interesting mauls and other specimens.

Mr. Lemmer's article gives a good, brief picture of the theories advanced concerning the Old Copper Indians, which makes enjoyable reading for students and explorers.

Marquette County Historical Society

KENYON BOYER

Some French Influences in Early Nineteenth Century America. By Albert G. and Mary E. Black. 16 p. (n.p. 1960).

Gustave de Beaumont's *Marie ou l'esclavage aux Etats-Unis*, "a curious work, half novel and half sociological treatise," was published in 1835 along with de Tocqueville's *De la démocratie en Amérique*. In the Foreword to his work, de Beaumont wrote:

There are two things principally to be observed among a people: its institutions and its customs. I shall remain silent on the first. At the very moment when my book will be published, another will appear which will shed the most brilliant illumination upon the democratic institutions of the United States. I refer to the work of M. Alexis de Tocqueville, entitled *Democracy in America*. . . . It is, therefore, solely the customs of the United States which I propose to describe.

Despite its undeniable value as a mirror of the mores of the young republic, the book was long neglected. In 1958, the Stanford University Press published a new edition of the novel (in an English translation

by Barbara Chapman) "primarily as a commentary on American society in the age of Jackson."

Mr. Black's "The Tragic Exile in Gustave de Beaumont's *Marie*," which constitutes the first part of the pamphlet entitled *Some French Influences in Early Nineteenth Century America* is mostly centered around the personage of Ludovic, one of the main actors of the drama and also the narrator, and de Beaumont, his creator.

There seems to be little doubt, as Mr. Black points out, that "Beaumont's personal exile in the United States led . . . to the fictional exile of Ludovic." Both the Traveler and the Hermit (Ludovic), whose encounter is the basis for the story are portraits of the author himself. Both have come to America "to find a freer people than existed among the neighbors of [their] troubled youth." Both have escaped the European scene and the revolution of 1830 and have come to "the new yet civilized society" with high hopes. But to traveler, whose hopes are still undaunted as he has not yet entered deep into the new world, the hermit says: "There are illusions which sometimes cost many tears."

Undoubtedly, both Ludovic and his creator have been deeply disturbed by what they saw in America, all the more so as they had come here in search of the peace they could not find at home. When Ludovic tells his story and Marie's to the traveler, it is de Beaumont himself who is addressing his fellowmen and tries to enlighten them as to the realities of American life. As de Beaumont says in his Foreword:

It is a strange fact that there is so much bondage amidst so much liberty; but what is more extraordinary is the violence of the prejudice which separates the race of slaves from that of the free men, that is the Negroes from the whites. . . . It is this tyranny, born of both slavery and the slave race, which forms the principal subject of my book.

Ludovic came into direct contact with this prejudice by marrying Marie, a white girl marked for life by a strain of negro blood. Mr. Black has carefully shown the similarity between Ludovic and his creator, and he has rightfully pointed out that *Marie* is a long-neglected commentary, the first of its kind, on the racial issue in America.

Mrs. Black's study of the "Songs of the French Voyageurs," is an extremely interesting incursion into a subject both rewarding and fascinating as it deals with a group of professionals long since gone but whose deeds and exploits are deeply imprinted into the history of the Great Lakes.

In the first part of her discussion Mrs. Black gives some general information on the voyageurs, their life, and their activities. This material is of considerable interest and suggests that further and more detailed studies of the life of the voyageurs should be undertaken.

Mrs. Black distinguishes three types of songs in the repertoire of the voyageurs. More common, perhaps since they constitute the cultural background of most voyageurs, are the traditional French-Canadian

songs, still known and sung today in Canada—and even in France, as is the case with “A la Claire Fontaine,” which Mrs. Black gives as an illustration.

As these songs had, on the whole, “little connection with the business of transporting furs,” or “guiding explorers, traders, and travelers along the lakes and rivers of the north country,” it was to be expected that, with time, they would be “adapted and altered in some characteristic manner . . . to make them more suitable as work songs.” These songs constitute the second group; in most cases, the refrain has been altered and words and lines have been added to recall the voyageurs’ daily work, rowing.

Yet, it is the third group of songs, those composed by the voyageurs themselves, which, as Mrs. Black points out, would have the greater interest for us as they would tell us about the life, thoughts, and adventures of the voyageurs. Unfortunately, this is the group for which we have the least to show as most of these songs rarely went beyond the spoken stage.

In the last pages of her interesting study Mrs. Black evokes some of the aspects of the voyageurs’ life as revealed in the few songs which have been preserved. On the whole and quite naturally, when one considers their wandering life away from home and their family, the voyageurs sang mostly of their loved ones and of what they left behind when they entered the wilderness.

Mrs. Black’s interesting study should lead the way to further investigation so that “we can enjoy again and again the forgotten, yet fascinating, age of the voyageur.”

The two articles discussed in this little pamphlet deal with two aspects of French impact on early America which have not yet received the attention they deserve. They are of special interest to us as they are closely associated with the Great Lakes area: on the one hand, we are all familiar with the role of the voyageurs in the discovery and mapping of Michigan and the Great Lakes; on the other hand, it is just beyond Detroit, on the edge of untamed wilderness that the traveler of *Marie*, in search of “a country that might make [him] happy,” meets with Ludovic the Hermit.

Michigan State University

GEORGES J. JOYAUX

Trail of the Pioneers. By Joseph J. Groos and Harold Vanlerberghe. (Escanaba, The Mead Corporation, 1960. 48 p. Illustration. Free.)

Peter Groos, Jr., was just a young boy when his parents emigrated from Luxemburg to Peoria, Illinois, in 1854. When his father, Peter, Sr., died shortly after, the responsibility of supporting his mother and her other three children rested on his shoulders.

The twelve-year-old youth sailed for a year, did odd jobs and then, through an employment agency, got a job at a sawmill near Escanaba (then Sand Point). When he arrived at Flat Rock, he found a water-powered sawmill on an island in the Escanaba River, several log houses and a boarding house.

In *Trail of the Pioneers*, an attractively-covered pamphlet, Joseph J. Groos and Harold Vanlerberghe tell a rambling, but interesting, story of the pioneer life of Peter Groos, for whom the village of Groos (formerly Flat Rock) was named.

As he grew older, his jobs in this rugged north country progressed from runner to a lumberman. He brought his mother, brother, and two sisters to the Upper Peninsula from Peoria and about 1863 he returned to Luxemburg to find a wife.

The story of Peter Groos and the village is the story of a typical Michigan lumbering town. Through it run the inevitable characters: Ike Stephenson, the Maine ox-teamster who later became one of the state's lumber barons (a principal street in Escanaba is named for him); Steamboat Matt, a stuttering, drunken lumberjack who engaged in a brawl with another stutterer because he thought it was a put-up job; and Mehitable Vines, a husky woman who, on seeing a teamster abuse his team of oxen, took the oxen away from the driver and drove them to the river herself.

It is a story of Indians (friendly), boardinghouse life, cold winters, sand and sawdust roads, and life and death among the pioneers.

From lumbering, Peter Groos went into the limestone kiln business, stone quarrying, road contracting (he built "macadam" roads), farming, and the saloon business.

One of Peter's sons was seriously injured, became interested in the doctor, studied medicine, and became Dr. John O. Groos, longtime highly respected Escanaba physician. The doctor's two sons, Louis P. and Harold Q. (notice the progression of middle initials), are now carrying on in his footsteps in Chicago.

The story of Groos is the story of the famed ore docks, the pulp mill, and the paper mill of the Mead Paper corporation of Ohio. It is a typical American story, duplicated in towns all over the country.

As the writers conclude: "The village of Groos is typical of the American way of life. The toiling immigrants of years ago blazed the trail toward prosperity and security of the present."

Lansing State Journal

CHARLES LARSON

Contributors

Richard H. Sewell, a native of Ann Arbor, received the B.A. degree from the University of Michigan. He is a doctoral candidate in American history at Harvard University, and at present is a teaching fellow in general education at Harvard.

Harold B. Fields' interest in Cass County comes to him as a native son. He took his undergraduate work at Dartmouth and his advance studies at the University of Chicago where he received his Ph.D. degree in 1942. Since 1929 he has been on the faculty of Michigan State University as a teacher in the fields of American and Latin American history.

Alexis A. Praus as director of the Kalamazoo Public Museum has developed it into one of the outstanding museums of the state. In 1948 he served as president of the newly organized Kalamazoo County Historical Society and presently is serving as executive secretary of the society and the Kalamazoo Valley Genealogical Society. In 1951-52 he served as president of the Historical Society of Michigan, and is again serving a three-year term as trustee of the state society.

Since her retirement as research geologist in the geological survey division of the department of conservation, Helen Martin has been busy traveling to state and regional meetings serving as conservation chairman of the National Council of State Garden Clubs. Places include Florida, Texas, Albuquerque, and Swampscott. Miss Martin spent two weeks at Duluth last summer as one of a group of one hundred from all parts of the United States to work on a resource book for geology teachers.

Cynthia Boyes Young received a B.A. in political science in 1954 from the University of Michigan. She has served as registrar at the Detroit Historical Museum from February, 1955 to August, 1960, when she retired to care for her baby son.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946.

Of Michigan History Magazine published quarterly at Lansing, Michigan, for December, 1960. State of Michigan, County of Ingham, ss.

Before me, a notary public, in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Lewis Beeson, who having been duly sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the Michigan History Magazine and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933 and July 2, 1946, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher and editor are: publisher, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan; editor, Lewis Beeson, Lansing, Michigan; managing editors and business managers, none.

2. That the owner is: the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan; Prentiss M. Brown, president, Detroit; Lewis G. Vander Velde, vice-president, Ann Arbor; Lewis Beeson, executive secretary, Lansing. No stock.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and the other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: none.

LEWIS BEESON, *Editor.*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of October, 1960.

JACQUELINE E. MOSS, *Notary Public.*

My commission expires July 6, 1964.

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The Historical Society of Michigan is an organization maintained and managed by Michigan citizens who are interested in the history of their state. It includes teachers, business men, professional people, and others who write history, study history, or just enjoy reading history. Its purpose is to encourage historical research and publication and to foster local historical societies throughout the state. Membership dues to individuals, libraries, and institutions are \$5.00 per year. *Michigan History* is sent to each member.

The Michigan Historical Commission is an official state body, consisting of six members appointed by the Governor. It was first established by an act of the legislature in 1913. The Commission is custodian of the state's archives; it compiles, edits, and publishes Michigan materials; and seeks to cultivate, through the Historical Society of Michigan and other groups, a continuing interest in the history of Michigan from the early times to the present.

Michigan History is a quarterly journal containing articles by qualified writers on Michigan subjects, reviews of books related to Michigan and its past, and news of historical activities in the state. Contributions are invited. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing 13, Michigan.

The Commission maintains at Lansing the Michigan Historical Museum, a rich storehouse of artifacts and documents related to the history of the state.

Among the activities of the Commission and the Society are the following: an annual meeting is held each year in the fall, at which tours and talks on Michiganiana are enjoyed; books and pamphlets are published from time to time; a conference on the teaching of Michigan materials is held annually; historical celebrations are encouraged in various parts of the state; a program of marking historical places is sponsored; guidance is provided to local governmental and state agencies on the destruction of useless records and the preservation of records having historical value.

